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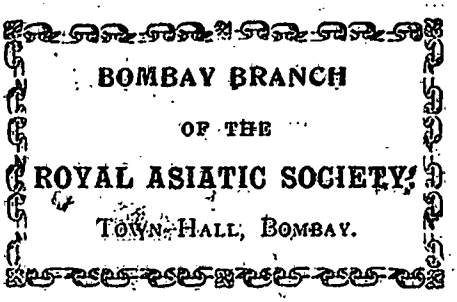


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THE

# LANDS OF THE BIBLE

## VISITED AND DESCRIBED

IN AN

EXTENSIVE JOURNEY UNDERTAKEN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROMOTION OF BIBLICAL RESEARCH AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CAUSE OF PHILANTHROPY.

88166

BY JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.,

HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, MEMBER OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASIATIC SECTION OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES AT COPENHAGEN, MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, ETC.

With Maps and Illustrations.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

WILLIAM WHYTE AND CO.,

BOOKSELLERS TO THE QUEEN-DOWAGER.

LONDON: LONGMAN AND CO. DUBLIN: W. CURRY AND CO.

M.DCCC.XLVII.

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*** THE Publishers of this Work, adverting to the solemn dispensation of Divine Providence, by which the distinguished Person to whom it is inscribed has been so suddenly removed from this earthly scene, beg to append to it the following Extract of a Note addressed to a friend by the Author:—

"LONDON, 2*d June*, 1847.

"I AM quite overwhelmed with the unexpected and solemn intelligence of your Note. God's hand has been lifted up in the sight of the Nations; for he has removed from us the greatest and the best Minister of our generation—nay, of our age. . . . . By a singular providence, we met with the venerated and beloved man on Friday, and received his benediction on our leaving the land of our fathers. His coach *from* Newcastle stopped at Alnwick, just as our coach *to* Newcastle drew up at the same place; and we had a few minutes' conversation together. I happened to have a proof of my Dedication to him of my Work on the LANDS OF THE BIBLE in my pocket; and, handing it up, I said, 'Doctor, I have been using liberties with your name in your absence.' After simply glancing at the Inscription, he replied, with his usual complacency and condescension, 'I had heard of this. I am much honoured, Dr. Wilson, by this kindness.' Most pleasing and tender will be the remembrance, that, following the impulse of admiration and affection, I have been the instrument of giving even a moment's gratification to this distinguished man, whom God has so remarkably blessed and made a blessing. On parting with us, the Doctor expressed his warmest wishes in our behalf, and sent his kindest love to his 'young friend, Dhanjibhái,' of whose safe arrival in India he was delighted to hear. His excellent son-in-law, Mr. Mackenzie, was with him. He was on the outside of the coach, having been disappointed of a seat inside. He was quite charmed, he said, with the scenery about Alnwick, seen under an unusually glorious sun. He is now in the regions of bliss, and before the throne on high. He will dwell for evermore in that City which hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."

TO THE

# REV. THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,
PRINCIPAL OF THE NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH, ETC. ETC. ETC.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

No individual has expressed to me a warmer interest in the preparation of this Work than yourself. It is not on this account, however, that I take the liberty of venturing to associate with it,—even in a respectful inscription,—your distinguished name. The veneration and love which, as an evangelical missionary, I unfeignedly cherish for your exalted character, surpassing talents and acquirements, lofty and consecrated eloquence, and disinterested and effective philanthropy, call forth the tribute which I now offer. Standing and striving, as some of us have done, for many years, on the great battle-field in the East, where our Holy Faith is called to wage a determined warfare with the great systems of erroneous religion and philosophy, which have been so long dominant in the fairest and richest provinces of the Globe, we have often, for our encouragement and assurance, looked across intervening oceans and continents to catch a glimpse at the living forms associated with the maintenance

and extended triumphs of that Faith in the highly favoured lands of Christendom ; and none have appeared to us so prominent and conspicuous as your own. Your happy and successful efforts for the exposition and establishment of the truth, and the preservation of the privileges of the Church of Christ, and the charity in which they originate and are conducted, excite universal gratitude. With rare wisdom and power, you have been enabled to discourse of both the credentials and the credenda of Christianity. But with these you have not rested satisfied. The agenda of a practical apostolic Christianity, seeking to multiply its conquests both at home and abroad, have been dealt with by you, both theoretically and practically, in a manner which has aroused universal attention, and is deserving of universal imitation. No individual in our day has, under God, been permitted to exercise a wider and a happier influence than yourself. Catholic evangelical Christianity hails you as its most trust-worthy friend.

In this work, I invite your attention, and that of the public, to the "LANDS OF THE BIBLE," which are associated in our minds with reminiscences and anticipations of the most tender and rapturous interest; and with whose sacred scenes, and wondrous characters, and unparalleled events, we become familiar from our earliest days. In doing this, I am well aware, that of late,—as indeed during some preceding centuries,—a succession of pilgrims have recorded and published the incidents of their travel and observation within these regions; and I have no wish to detract from the importance of their various publications. I respectfully claim a place for my Work, from certain classes of

readers at least, because of the extent of the journey which it narrates, and the objects which it was designed to subserve; because part of the land and ocean over which it is my wish to conduct my reader, has been but partially, if at all, noticed in late publications; and because, even on frequented tracks, I have exercised my own visual organs, and made my own observations and inquiries, without any thing like a slavish deference either to my predecessors or contemporaries. Most travellers who have entered the countries which I ask the reader to traverse with me, have approached them from the distant West; and almost every thing connected with them has presented itself to their view in an aspect of entire novelty, and called forth a burst of fresh European feeling. I betook myself to them from the distant East, in which I had resided about fifteen years, and not altogether a stranger to the nature of their climes, and the manners and customs and languages of their inhabitants, with many of whom I had been brought in contact; and if I have laboured under some disadvantages by my lengthened sojourn in the exsiccating regions of the sun, I have enjoyed certain facilities for movement, and inquiry, and comparison, to which some importance may be attached. In my associates, too, I was peculiarly favoured. I allude especially to John Smith, Esq., and Dhanjibhái Naurojí of Bombay, to the Rev. William Graham of Damascus, and to the other friends, to whom I have expressed my great obligations in the body of my book, and whose assistance and friendship I shall long remember with the deepest gratitude.

The work, which, as it regards one of the great objects which I kept particularly in view throughout my travels,

comes nearest to my own, is the "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa," of the Rev. Edward Robinson, D.D. That most able and learned book, has entirely exhausted many subjects of inquiry connected with Biblical Geography. It is remarkably accurate, as a whole, in its original descriptions; and it contains historical notices of many localities, which evince the most diligent and successful research, being, in fact, a valuable epitome of the results of ancient and modern travel in the Holy Land. It is a matter of congratulation, that it at once took, and will long maintain, its place as a standard authority. If it has not met with all the popular favour which it merits, this is owing as much to the gravity of the subjects of which it treats, as to the disadvantage to the reader of the union of the more lively personal narrative, with the duller, though still valuable, historical and antiquarian inquiries. In some matters of great interest, I have seen reason to differ from the conclusions of Dr. Robinson,—as the place and circumstances of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, the mount of communion at Sinai, the route of the Israelites immediately after the giving of the Law, the use of some of the ancient excavations at Petra, and various questions connected with the topography of the Holy Land. The reasons of my judgment I have endeavoured to state without dogmatism, and in a spirit, I trust, equally remote from the dangerous extremes of credulity and rationalism. In travelling through the land of Israel, my companions and myself were guided in the identification of Scripture sites, principally by the coincidence of the ancient Hebrew and modern Arabic names, and their visible agreement with the locali-

zation of Scripture, and the notices of Eusebius and Jerome. It was, generally speaking, rather for purposes of confirmation than information respecting them, that we consulted the various works which we had in our possession. Except in a few cases, the grounds of judgment lie within very narrow bounds. The exceptions have, in general, been ably and fully treated by Reland and Dr. Robinson. In my second volume, I give a list of all the towns and villages mentioned in Scripture in connexion with the possessions of the Israelites, which appear to me to have been identified. It embraces a few which have been brought to notice since my journey was completed. Though I have formed a collection of works on the Holy Land, larger than I have found in any of our public libraries, and though in the preparation of this book I have made an abundant consultation of them, I have studiously confined my references to historical authorities to the illustration of matters which appeared to me of importance in connexion with the distinctive objects which I had specially in view in my wanderings. A full history of individual localities should, I think, be reserved for a Biblical Encyclopædia or Dictionary, or an extension of such a work as that of "Relandi Palestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata," which, I agree with Dr. Robinson in thinking, is still a desideratum, and which, of all men, the Doctor, the American guardiano of the Terra Santa, is the best qualified to execute.

In one of your most powerful orations, you have emphatically remarked, that "the business of a missionary is with man." Keeping this axiom in view, I devoted a great deal of my attention when travelling, to the implementing of a

commission which I had received from one of the Committees of the Church of Scotland, relative to the prosecution of research among the Eastern Jews. Circumstances much favoured me in my intercourse with these people, who are so much beloved for their fathers' sakes; and I have been enabled, both in the first and second parts of my work, to bring to notice some matters connected with them, which, I trust, will be found not altogether devoid of interest and originality. A similar observation I may make, perhaps with more confidence, connected with the remnant of the Samaritans still sojourning at Shechem or Nábulus. The Eastern Christians, the nominal representatives of our Holy Faith in the glorious lands in which it originated, and sojourning on the frontiers, or within the territories of Muhammadanism and Heathenism, and peculiarly exposed to the intrigues of crafty conclaves at Rome and Lyons, called forth special notice, and excited much of my sympathy; and I have devoted a considerable number of pages to an exposition of their creed and condition, and their more general historical connexions. In doing this, I have availed myself of two Lectures, which, in anticipation of the appearance of this work, I have laid before the public since my arrival in Scotland, abridging and enlarging them according to convenience. I have, of course, formed my judgment of these Eastern Churches, from a comparison of them with the evangelical principles which we hold as the truth of God. I extremely regret that I could not take a more favourable view of them than I have done. I trust that what I have said of them may conduce somewhat to extend the too feeble interest which is felt in their behalf by the

Protestant Churches of Europe. To other matters, treated of under the head of "General Researches," I need not allude further, than to say, that if I am not greatly mistaken, they will be acknowledged to be strictly in unison with the objects of this work. A considerable quantity of matter which I had prepared, I have been compelled to omit, from the size to which these volumes have extended. I regret much the necessity, for the same reason, of withholding an article on the Natural History of the Holy Land, to which, it will be observed from the Personal Narrative, I was not altogether inattentive on my journey; and also an extended catalogue of works of travel referring to that and other Eastern countries.

The system of representing Arabic words which I have followed in the text of this work, is that proposed by Sir William Jones, and adopted, with a few slight modifications, by the Royal Asiatic and Royal Geographical Societies. It is founded on classical analogy, and is suited to the classical pronunciation of the different nations of Europe, as well as of Britain. It is incomparably the best which has yet been suggested. It is fundamentally that to which, in the case of the vowel sounds in particular, the public has long resorted in the representation of Hebrew words. Hence we have Judah, Jerusalem, etc., and not the barbarous Jooduh, Jeroosulem, or Jerooshulucem, etc., of the rival system of Gilchrist. There is only one disadvantage of the preferable system. It arises from the diacritical marks, or italicizing, of which it compels the use, and which are apt sometimes to be overlooked or mistaken in the process of copying and printing. My determination to adhere to it, as far as possible, both in my book

and in the accompanying maps, has imposed upon me much labour, as I have been obliged, in almost every page, to refer not only to the copious Arabic lists which I prepared during my journey, but to those of Abulfeda, Edrisi, Ibn Ḥaukal, Schultens, Assemanus, Eli Smith, Renouard, and others, and even to the Arabic Dictionary, when I could not at once recognise the roots of the words used. Some errors, I am aware, have occurred *per incuriam;* but they are comparatively few. If, in some instances, I have restored the eastern names of places and persons which may be said to have acquired peculiar English names, I have done this to exhibit the effect of a system in circumstances in which it will not fail to excite notice; and because now, even in our general literature, there is an evident approximation to accuracy. While Gibbon has rightly said, that "in proper names of foreign, and especially of oriental origin, it should always be our aim to express, in our English version, a faithful copy of the original," he has added, that "some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and, as it were, naturalized in the vulgar tongue." In illustration of the latter point, he says,—"The prophet Mahommed can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of Mahomet." Of this appellation, however, the enthusiast and impostor is now stripped by many of our most approved writers, and I consequently give him at once his true eastern cognomen—Muḥammad.

The Maps which accompany this work have been constructed by the Messrs. Johnston, geographers to the Queen, under my own personal direction. In that of the *Peninsula of Mount Sinai and Arabia Petræa,* we have, as regards the

coasts of the seas of Suweis and Akabah, followed the valuable survey of Captain Moresby, making the necessary correction for the longitude, which I have noticed at page 12 of my first volume. The method of representing the physical features of the country is that of Russegger of Vienna. We have freely availed ourselves of the bearings, and notes, and delineations of Burckhardt, and Robinson, and others, as regards localization; and some of the most important of their bearings we have recast. The notes of Mr. Smith of Bombay and myself have been turned to especial use; and they have enabled us, I trust, to rectify the representation of parts of the great desert, which have hitherto been put down very much at random, or altogether on conjecture. As the Sinaite group of mountains, from the narrowness of the valleys, can be but very inadequately represented, even in a general sheet map of considerable size, we have, on the margin, given an enlargement of it from a very valuable delineation of Russegger, attached to his map of the north of Syria, making it, at the same time, accord as much as possible with the notes of our own travel. An inspection of it will go far to show that Mount Sinai is indeed the geological axis of the remarkable group to which it gives name. The Map of the *Holy Land* is, in its southern parts, principally founded on the excellent one of Kiepert, executed by him under the direction of the famous geographer, Carl Ritter. It embraces, however, in these, as in other portions, all the improvements, and modifications, and additions, which our own observation and inquiry have suggested. The spelling of the names of places has been altered throughout, so as to make it accord with the system to

which I have above adverted. The Scripture sites are marked in capitals, and other ancient sites in *italic* capitals; and a greater degree of distinctness will, I hope, thus be the consequence than has hitherto been obtained. We have availed ourselves of the survey of the country contiguous to the sources of the Jordan by Major Robe of the Royal Engineers, published in the able and most valuable periodical, the Bibliotheca Sacra. In connexion with the coasts of the Mediterranean, various charts of the Royal Navy have been consulted. As regards the north of Syria and Lebanon, we have been principally indebted to Russegger and Berghaus, and our own notes. The Plan of Jerusalem is principally a reduction of the best which we have yet got of the Holy City—that of Dr. Schulze, but accommodated to the opinions which I have expressed in the body of this work. The Plans of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirút, are principally taken from those of Captain Ormsby, published by the Admiralty. My attention was directed to them by Captain Beaufort of the R.N. The little Map of *Arabia Felix* has been constructed from the Surveys of Captain Haines, I.N., the Notes of a Journey from Mokhá to Ṣaná, by Lieutenant Cruttenden, I.N., the Survey of the Red Sea, and from Niebuhr. The sketch Map of *Lower Egypt and the Valley of the Nile*, has been formed from Leake, Russegger, and Wilkinson. The Derb el-Basátín has been laid down from our own notes. In the construction of the Maps to which I have now referred, I have to acknowledge the valuable advice of Major T. B. Jervis, F.R.S., of the Bombay Engineers, long advantageously employed in the geographical Surveys of India.

The illustrations of this work, it will be seen, are, with one or two exceptions, original, and the produce of the portfolio, with which I was furnished by our successful draughtsman, Mr. G. O'Brien.

To my learned friend, Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, I have to express my obligations for the loan, from his admirable library, of a number of rare and valuable works, to which I have had occasion to refer. A similar acknowledgment I have to make to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, and to the officials of the Library of the New College, Edinburgh.

But I must no longer make demands upon you and the public for explanations. My work, such as it is, has cost me many hours of labour since my return to the land of my fathers; and while now, on my again setting out to the distant East, I commit it to the decision of your own warm-hearted kindness, and the candour of the public, I pray that it may in some degree benefit the reader of the Bible, and aid the advancement of the cause of philanthropy in the memorable lands in which Christianity has lost, but will yet recover, its pristine power.—I am,

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

Yours, with the highest esteem,

JOHN WILSON.

EDINBURGH, *May*, 1847.

# ARABIC GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

'Ain, *fountain.*
Ardh, *land,* or *district.*
'Ayún, *fountains.*
Bahar, *sea.*
Balad, *town, village.*
Baládi, *district.*
Bír, *well.*
Biyár, *wells.*
Deir, *convent.*
Derb, *road.*
Ghabbat, *gulf.*
Jazírah, *or* Jazírat, *island.*
Jebel, *mountain.*
Ká'a, *plain.*
Kadd, *shoal.*
Kafr, *village.*
Karn, *horn,* or *point.*
Kasr, *castle,* or *palace.*
Kharbat, *ruin.*
Khaur, *inlet.*
Kit'ah, *patch of rocks.*
Mersá, *anchorage.*
Nabí, *prophet,* or *prophet's tomb.*
Nahr, *river.*
Nakb, *pass.*
Rás, *headland,* or *cape.*
Sahil, *plain.*
Seil, *torrent.*
Sháb, *reef.*
Sharm, *creek.*
Tarík, *road,* or *way.*
Tell, *hillock, mound.*
Wádí, *valley,* or *ravine.*
Walí, *saint,* or *saint's tomb.*

| Consonants. | | Name. | Power. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ا | Alif. | To this the Hamzah (ʾ),—the slight sound made by opening the larynx to pronounce a word beginning with a vowel,—is affixed. |
| ب | بـ | Bá or Bé. | *b*, as in bold. |
| ت | تـ | Tá or Té. | *t*, as in tear. |
| ث | ثـ | Thá or Thé. | *th*, as in thigh, and as *s* by Indians. |
| ج | جـ | Jím. | *j*, as in jaw; but sometimes pronounced as hard g. |
| ح | حـ | Há. | *h*, as in hot, or as *h* doubled. |
| خ | خـ | Khá. | *kh*, as *ch* in loch. |
| | د | Dál. | *d*, as in done. |
| | ذ | Dhál. | *dh*, as *th*, in there, this; by Indians *z*. |
| | ر | Rá or Ré. | *r*, as in run. |
| | ز | Za, or Ze, or Zein. | *z*, as in zinc. |
| س | سـ | Sín. | *s*, as in sand. |
| ش | شـ | Shín. | *sh*, as in shine. |
| ص | صـ | Sád. | *s*, the sibilant being softened and protracted. |
| ض | ضـ | Dhád. | *dh*, similar to the ذ, but with the aspiration less distinct. |
| | ط | Tá. | *t*, hard. |
| | ظ | Th. | *th*, hard; sometimes as *dh* and *z*. |
| ع | عـ | ʾAin. | *ʾa*, guttural, somewhat like *ign* in sign, and may be attached to the other vowels, ʾe, ʾi, ʾo, ʾu. |
| غ | غـ | Ghain. | *gh*, guttural, with aspiration. |
| ف | فـ | Fá. | *f*, as in fine. |
| ق | قـ | Káf. | *k*, hard, as *c* in curb; often pronounced like hard g. |
| ك | كـ | Kef. | *k*, as in kill. |

| Consonants. | Name. | Power. |
|---|---|---|
| ا ل | Lám. | *l*, as in love. |
| ـم | Mím. | *m*, as in mind. |
| ن ـن | Nún. | *n*, as in net. |
| و | Waw. | *w*, as in well. |
| ه ـه ـه | He. | *h*, as in hill. |
| ي ـي | Ya. | *y*, as in yet, you, yellow. |

| Vowels and Diphthongs. | Name. | Power. |
|---|---|---|
| ـَ | a, . . . . | as *a* in bat, cat; in India as *a* in *A*merica, or *u* in but; sometimes represented by the French *e*, as in Yemen. |
| اَ | á, . . . . | as *á* in have; by Persians and Indians, the broad Scotch sound. |
| ـِ | e, . . . . | as *e* in set. |
| يِ | é, . . . . | as *e* in their. |
| ـِ | i, . . . . | as *i* in knit, bit. |
| يِ | í, . . . . | as *i* in ravine, or *ee* in seen. |
| ـُ | o, . . . . | as *o* in the French poltron, mol. |
| وُ | ó, . . . . | *o*, as in old. |
| ـُ | u, . . . . | *u*, as in full. |
| وُ | ú, . . . . | *u*, as in lunar, lurid. |
| ـَيْ | ai, . . . . | as in aisle. |
| ـَيْ | ei, . . . . | as *ei* in their, eight. |
| ـَوْ | au, . . . . | as *ou* in foul, count, and in owl. |
| و | eu, . . . . | as *eu* in feudal. |

No two vowels should follow each other immediately.

The article *el* or *al* has the *l* elided before the Solar letters, which letters are caught by the vowel and reduplicated, as in *en-Nár*, *edh-Dhahab*, *esh-Shám*, etc. When the article follows a vowel, its own vowel is cut off, as in Abu'l Hol. The *l* of the article is preserved before the Lunar letters.

Compare with this the "Notice" appended to the Sailing Directions of the Red Sea, by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, Foreign Secretary to the R. G. S.

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Peninsula of Aden.

# CHAPTER I.

## VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO ADEN.

THE great and magnificent country from which I set out on the journey, the incident and observation of which I here venture to record, is diametrically opposed in its historical associations, and religious and civil institutions, to the hallowed regions to which I ask the reader to accompany me as a Christian pilgrim. INDIA has not been the scene of the special communings of God with man; and its gigantic mountains and wide-spreading valleys have not been trodden by the feet of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and of God himself manifest in the flesh. Though, for thousands of years, it has counted its numerous sages, renowned in the eastern world for the depth and subtlety of their inquiries and speculations, it has made no progress of itself in the attainment of that wisdom of greatest price, the beginning of which is the fear of the Lord. The prince of evil has reigned

over its fair and luxuriant provinces, and amongst its countless inhabitants, with almost uncontrolled power and authority; and he has demanded and received of them the most costly sacrifices and victims which have been laid on his polluted altar. A brighter day, however, is about to dawn on that hitherto benighted land. In the wonderful providence of God, those divine and heavenly influences which were first manifested on the heights of Israel, are now extended to its borders. It is governed by the benevolence of Britain, and "the beam which shines from Zion's hill" on the highly-favoured land of our nativity, is reflected far beyond the fountain from which it flows, even to the farthest east, and to a people destined yet to rejoice in its light and life. It was my high privilege to labour for fourteen years in our Western Presidency in the work of the instruction of its diversified tribes in the principles of our holy faith; and the growing hopefulness and success of the enterprise, conducted by a devoted band of brethren of several denominations of Christians, both of Europe and America, added to the pain with which I contemplated the prospect of a temporary suspension of my labours. That suspension, however, had become necessary. I had been well-nigh exhausted by the burden and heat of the day; and repeated attacks of fever rendered it necessary that, for a season at least, I should resort to more temperate climes. It was a mitigation of the trial, which, for upwards of a year, I had in prospect, that my journey to Europe might be overruled so as to afford me an opportunity of gratifying the ardent desire which had arisen in my mind, of surveying the countries which have been the theatre of the most marvellous events which have occurred in the world's history, and of contributing, in any degree, to direct to them the benevolence of Britain, and rendering my assistance in the first attempts made by the Church of my fathers to repay to them those mighty obligations under

which we are placed for the distinguished blessings for which, under God, we are to them indebted. But it was nothing more than a mitigation of the trial which I was called to endure, that I could refer to these delightful prospects. I found it no easy matter to leave the shores of India, long viewed by me as the land of my adoption, and dear to me as that of my nativity. My feelings well-nigh overpowered me when I concluded my ministrations on the 1st of January, 1843, by beseeching the little flock of converts from Hindúism, Zoroastrianism, and Muhammadanism, which had been gathered together through my own ministry and that of my fellow-labourers, to let their conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ, that whether I might come and see them, or else be absent, I might hear of their affairs—that they stood fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing terrified by their adversaries; and when I called on many of my countrymen, whom I knew to be actuated by the principles of sincere and ardent philanthropy, to anticipate the glorious era of the moral renovation of India, and of the whole earth, when "all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him." On the following day, which was that of my departure, many affectionate greetings were addressed to me by numerous friends, both Europeans and natives, and by several of the most conspicuous institutions of Bombay, both literary and religious, of whose disinterested regard and indulgence I shall ever preserve a grateful recollection. They added to the tenderness of my emotions, and strengthened me for the unknown trials and duties, and it might be perils, which I thought it right to contemplate. Much had been done by various parties to facilitate my future movements, and to aid me in my researches. I was indebted to the Governor in Council for a special letter of introduction to

the Government authorities of the countries through which I might pass. To the addresses and epistles which I received from the Bene-Israel, from the elders of the synagogue of Arabian Jews, and from Armenian friends, I may afterwards have occasion to allude. I found them to be extremely useful in procuring for me, and the esteemed friends who were afterwards associated with me in my wanderings, a favourable introduction to the oriental Jews in the different countries which we visited, to the small remnant of Samaritans at Nábulus, the ancient Shechem, and to various communities of the eastern Christians, from all of whom we received the kindest hospitality.

A little after sunset, on the 2d of January, 1843, I left my domicile in Ambrolie, and drove to the Pálawá bandar, which receives from our accommodating countrymen the more classic name of the Apollo pier. I there bade adieu to several of my friends who were waiting to take their last farewell, and forthwith went on board the Honorable Company's steamer, Cleopatra, Captain Boulderson, in which I had taken my passage to Áden and Suez. I was accompanied to the ship by one of my esteemed colleagues, and by Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen, who had been staying for a few months under my roof, and from whose agreeable fellowship and distinguished attainments in the geography and languages of Asia, I had, in the contemplation of my journey, derived no small advantages. Dhanjibhái Naurojí, a Pársí youth of great promise, whom I had been privileged to admit into the Church of Christ, as the first convert from the faith of Zoroaster to Christianity in its own simple form of Protestantism, was united to me as the companion of my future pilgrimage. A young countryman, recommended to me by my valued friend Colonel Dickinson, then the chief engineer at Bombay, was attached to us as a draftsman. Two interesting Abyssinian youths, who had resided for

some years under my roof, had a free passage with us, granted them to Áden by the Government. They were returning to their native land. We found that we had been preceded to the vessel by most of its passengers; but we did not move from the anchorage till near midnight. The sky was brilliant and serene as our vessel pushed its way through our capacious harbour; and the shades of the island scenery, before and behind, even in their nocturnal form, appeared more interesting than ever. Many a wistful eye we cast from a distance, towards the flickering and receding lights of Bombay and Kulábá. The desire of our hearts was the welfare of India, and of the numerous friends and objects of regard whom we had left behind.

Though at the season of the year when we left Bombay, the weather is uniformly fair and steady, we had a stiff breeze opposing us, causing a ground swell, rather unfavourable to our comfort. I suffered considerably from sea-sickness during the night, as I continued occasionally to do during the voyage; but, nevertheless, I got astir the first morning after our departure. Not a streak of India's soil, nor a peak of the Konkan hills, or the Sahyádri mountains, was visible on our Eastern horizon. We were the denizens of the ocean; but the rapid and uninterrupted motion of our vessel told us, that in a few days we should complete our course of the 1643 miles which separate Bombay from our Arabian colony at Áden. A considerable number of the passengers were my intimate personal friends. Most of them were known to one another by name, profession, and character; and an introduction to those of them who were strangers, was sufficient to lead to the formation of an acquaintance. Our countrymen who have resided in the climes of the sun, "know the heart of a stranger;" and, with few exceptions, they are prepared to treat one another with kindness, consideration, and indulgence. Nothing could be more agree-

able than our mutual intercourse. Most of us were bound to the temperate climes of our nativity, with a view to the desired reparation of our health, and the renewal of our acquaintance with those whom we had long ago known in the flesh, and ever loved in the spirit. A particular friend of my own had been the longest resident in India, and he was respected among us, not merely as the soldier of his country, but a veteran in the Christian profession and warfare. There were other honoured servants of our nation, both civil and military, some of whom had escaped the perils of the Affghan war, in which they had borne a conspicuous part. We had more than one of the enterprizing and liberal-minded merchants of Bombay. A Portuguese gentleman, from Mozambique and Goa, was the only European foreigner on board. The occupations of most of our company appeared to be profitable, and the amusements of all harmless. I do not remember noticing any "improprieties" during the whole course of the voyage. Not many years ago, matters, in this respect, might have been very different; but it cannot now be said of our countrymen in general, that in going to India, they leave their consciences at the Cape of Good Hope. In some of the instances in which they may yet, unhappily, abandon them there, they recover them, under saving and salutary influences, in the far East. From our commander, we met with the most liberal treatment. The only inconvenience which we experienced, is almost unavoidable in the case of long voyages performed by steamers. The foul chimney of our vessel frequently shed its showers of fiery flakes on the quarter-deck, and invited the counteractive deluge of the antagonist element from our water-engines, to the discomfort, for the time being, of all on board. The "News of the Month," which we were bearing to England, were frequent topics of discussion, and particularly those appertaining to the humiliating wars in the north of India,

which were happily drawing to a close. My principal engagement during the voyage, was the study of the Arabic—to which I had paid some little attention in India—with a view to facilitate my future movements among the Arab tribes. I likewise examined several important works of travel, of which I had taken with me from Bombay about a camel's load—a most unmanageable burden I afterwards found it to be—in order that my attention might be awakened, as far as possible, to the observation of different objects in the countries which I intended to visit. On Sabbaths, I had an opportunity granted to me of preaching to the crew and passengers.

We descried the southern coasts of Arabia on the 8th of January. It was not till the following day, however, that we had anything like a distinct view of any part of its shores. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon we were opposite Makallah, which, however, we could not distinguish owing to our distance. This place is the principal commercial depôt of the south of Arabia, with a population of about 4500 souls, composed partly of the Beni Ḥasan and Yáfáí Arabs, and Baniás from India. It has considerable mercantile transactions with Bombay and Mandaví in Kach, receiving from the former, cotton cloths, lead, iron, crockery, and rice, and furnishing gums, hides, senna, and, to a small extent, coffee in return. It is a noted emporium for slaves. Captain Haines, in his excellent memoir on the south coast of Arabia, says that he has seen seven hundred Nubian girls exposed at once in its slave-market, and subjected to the brutal and disgusting inspection of the purchasers.[1] It is consistent with my own knowledge, that both male and female slaves are, not unfrequently, smuggled from it to the coasts of Káṭhiáwád in India. Two boats laden with them were seized by the Government of Bombay in the beginning of 1836. The slaves were mostly mere children from the coasts of Africa, adjoin-

[1] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ix. p. 150.

ing Zengibár, and after their liberation, most of them were distributed for their education among the different mission stations in the West of India. They showed no want of aptitude to learn, though they proved much more mischievous and unmanageable than Hindú children. Throughout the day on which we passed Makallah, the sea was quite calm, and the sailing agreeable. The water for some hours had a distinct reddish appearance, which our Captain ascribed to its repletion with "marine animalculæ." We had some buckets of it brought on board for inspection, but we saw nothing peculiar in it with the naked eye, owing, probably, to the transparency of the globules which had caused the phenomenon which we had witnessed on the dark surface below. Had we kept it over night, the case might have been otherwise. Some of our passengers ascribed it to the proximity of "fish spawn." It was, probably, owing to the presence of minute medusæ on the surface of the water, such as those which give rise to the diffusion of a phosphorescence at night. This colouring, which we learned is not uncommon near the shores of Arabia and the Red Sea, as well as other appearances, may, possibly, have given rise to the appellation of Erythrean, applied to the seas bounding Arabia.[1]

[1] The following passage from an interesting article in the North British Review, attributed to no common pen—that of Sir David Brewster—may be compared with the statement in the text, which I allow to stand as originally written:—"But the meteoric wonders of the ancients, in which the colour of blood was imparted to streams of water and showers of rain, have a close parallel in a phenomenon in natural history which has been observed in our own day, and which M. Salverte has mentioned only in a few lines. This phenomenon occurred in the spring of 1825, when the lake of Morat in Switzerland was dyed, as it were, with a red substance, which 'coloured it in a manner so extraordinary, that all the inhabitants on the banks of the river which issues from it were struck with astonishment.' The phenomenon continued from November till April, and even May. Early in the day nothing remarkable is noticed in the lake, but afterwards red lines, long, regular, and parallel, are observed along the margin of the lake, and at a little distance from its banks. The substance of these red streaks is pushed

# MAP
## OF
# ARABIA FELIX,
EMBRACING THE PROVINCES OF
## YEMEN AND HADHRAMAUT,
PART OF THE
## TEHÁMAH,
AND THE PENINSULA OF
## ADEN.

KAḤTAN ARABS OR JOKTANITES SHEBA
Mareb
Dersan
Amran
Sanaam
Sherah
Husun Ghuras
Rahabah
Wadi Dhar
Kankebun
Shibam
Jarat
SANÁ
Coffee Plantations of Harraz
Jebel Harraz
Jebel Nakam
Mottench 5000 Feet
Jebel Burra
Ras Katib
HODEIDAH
Shurimah
Beit el-Fakih
Khaur Ghuleifakah
Kusma
Atumah
Dhamar
Yerim
Sumarah M.
Nein?
Zebeid
Ras Zebeid
Sukkar
Sherjah
Reis
Zidden
Katabah
Heiran
Shirman M.
Harnish
Mushij
Ruweis
MOKHÁ
Jebel Yafa'i range of high Mts
Jebel Amzuk
Jebel Muswan
Jebel Fudhli
Tribe
Hawatyah
Ras Urlajah
Sheikh el-Harbah
Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahmán Baddás.
Urlají Tr
Black Hill
Makatein
Ras Sutwin
Ras el-Kesir
Ghubbet 'Ain
Ras el-Agitah
Sheikh Ghailáh
Ras el-Keib
Ras Makfalah
Ras Anuseh
Ras Baghmat
Ghubbet Kulún
El-Ghaidhar
Shihr
Burám
Ras Burám
Makallah
Suk ul-Bagir
Jebel Hamari
Jebel Asad
Hamúm Tribe
Jebel Ibn Shamlyik
Hámi
Sand Hill
Kesseir
Sharmah Bay
Ras Baghashai
Jebel Kimbush
Abd-ul-Kiri or Palinurus Shoal
Wahhl Sheikhawf (Inscriptions)
Yatili Tribe
Sheikh Marbati
Subeihi Tribe
Lahaj Tribe
Akrabi Tribe
Ghubbet Salán
Ghubbet Seikán
ADEN
Jebel Shamshán
Jebel Hasan
Ras Imrán
Bandar Feikam
Ras Kelti
Ras Arah
Khaur Imrán
Jebel Hafir
Jebel Arah
Jebel Hakah
Jebel Madeb
Brothers
Ras Sejan
Abyssinia
Aab B.
Zi Hill
Perim
Ras Sintyár
Jeb
Kharaz
Subeihi
Fudhli
Tribe
Sughri
Barrow Rocks
Salih
Mokaiteh
Kaiher
Jebel Jihaf
Jebel Sabr
Jebel Ihbir
Jebel Sabar
Jebel Sabir
Jebel Sabar
Jebel Sabir
Jebel Sabar
Jebel Sab

The shores of Arabia continued to keep in sight. Ranges of very high mountains were seen inland about thirty miles. They seemed, from their general contour, to be partly primitive and partly stratified. A good deal of the country near the coast lies very low. Excellent marble is found there, near Makallah

On the morning of the 10th of January, the peninsula of Aden began to make its appearance. Jebel Shamshán, its highest mountain, rising to the height of 1776 feet above the level of the sea, was visible at the distance of fifty miles. The whole congeries of mountains and rocks appeared dark and sombre. As we approached it, nothing but absolute sterility and desolation presented itself to our view. To adopt the language of Lord Valentia, who got a glimpse of it in 1804, "I never beheld a more dreary scene, nor one that less accorded with the idea that might be formed of the country from the description of Milton. No 'Sabæan odours' came off, to gratify our senses, from the shore."[1] Our eyes, however, were rivetted

by the wind into the small bays, and heaped round the reeds, where it covers the surface of the lake with a fine reddish foam, forming coloured streaks, from a greenish black to the most beautiful red. A putrid smell is exhaled during the night from this stagnant mass, and it afterwards disappears, to re-appear, in a similar manner, on the following day. The perch and the pike, and other fish in the lake, were tinged red, as if they had been fed with madder; and several small fish, which came to the surface to breathe and to catch flies, died with convulsions in passing through this red matter. The curious phenomenon which we have now described, has been found by M. Decandolle to be enormous quantities of a new animal, which has received the name of *oscillatoria rubescens*, and which seems to be the same with what Haller has described as a *purple conferva* swimming in water. Although this phenomenon did not attract the notice of philosophers till 1825, it is said to happen every spring, and the fishermen announce the fact by saying that the lake is in flower. M. Ehrenberg, while navigating the Red Sea, observed that the colour of its waters was owing to a similar cause."—N. B. R. vol. iii. p. 15.

[1] Valentia's Travels, vol. ii. p. 12. This writer adds respecting the "Sabæan odours," "Nor did they ever exist there but in the mind of the poet, as a more wretched country does not exist; for the myrrh and frankincense came from the opposite coast, [of Africa,] though the Arabs were, and are still, the medium of conveyance to Europe." It is rather dangerous to meddle with Milton's geography. No doubt the articles

by the scene; and though we had been only nine days at sea, the prospect of once more setting our foot on land was to every one very exhilarating. Rounding Rás Tarshein, the most westerly headland of the peninsula, we cast anchor at two o'clock P.M., in the bandar Tawayyí, or the Western or Back Bay, at the place called by our countrymen "Steamer Point." An exchange of signal guns, followed by the hoisting of various ensigns, had announced our approach; and several of our friends from the encampment at Áden, eager to learn from us the Indian news, were ready to bid us welcome. We found, in the harbour, two or three merchant vessels, one of the East India Company's cruisers, and a disabled steamer, now used as a coal-charger. The smaller craft is generally anchored in the eastern bay, nearer to the town.

Will my gracious reader tolerate a word from me on the topography of our promising Arabian colony, so celebrated from the days of old as a commercial emporium, before I ask him to leave with me the steamer? A reference to the subjoined plan of Áden will, I hope, render my remarks intelligible.

From Rás Tarshein on the west to Rás Marshigh on the east, the length of the peninsula of Áden is about five and a half miles; and its breadth, from north to south, terminating at Rás Sinailah, is about four. Jebel Shamshán, so called from the turretted peaks on its summit, extends about five miles from east to west, by three in breadth. This mountain is partly of tufa and limestone, borne aloft by the heavings and swellings, or covered by the streams, of the volcanic fires and floods which have given origin to the other bare and barren heights with which it is associated. Numerous rocky

mentioned are found on the opposite coast, from which they are conveyed to the different seaports of the south and west of Arabia; but they are raised in considerable quantities in Arabia Felix itself.

points and spurs project from the mass of hills, which form small bays, affording shelter to native craft of all descriptions. The peninsula is joined to the mainland on the north by a low stripe of land, over which ran the brick aqueduct of Ábd-ul-Wáhab, of which considerable remains are still visible, and which terminates at the Bír Um-Heit, upwards of eight miles from the Durab el Horaibi, where it commences in Áden. This strip is narrowest near the creek called Khaur Maḳṣá. The western bay, formed by the projecting headlands of Jebel Ḥasan on the west, and Jebel Shamshán on the east, is about eight miles by four, its entrance between Rás Salil on the west, and Rás Tarshein, being by measurement three miles and 750 yards wide. It is very convenient for anchorage, even close to the shore. To the east of this bay, and to the north of the peninsula, there is another expansion of the sea, sometimes called the "eastern bay," nearer the town of Áden. The point of Ḥejáf forms the southern and western limit of the inner bay. Near its entrance is the rock Jeramah, and north of it the small islets Jám Álí and Álíyah, which, at low-water spring-tides are connected with the mainland towards the north, and having the flat which they form with it running about half a mile southward, leaving only half a mile for a passage into the bay, with a depth of two and a half fathoms of water. Within the bay are five little islets, the largest of which, rising to a height of 200 feet, is denominated Sawáyih, the others being Marzúḳ Kebír, Ḳeis el Hammán, Ḳalfetein, and Firinjí. On the south we have the small islet, named Denáfah. Passing from it eastward, we have the headlands of Sinailah and Teiyah. Between Rás Teiyah and Rás Marshigh, turning to the north, we have the bandar Darás; and, rounding Rás Marshigh, we have the small bandar of Hokat, close to the town of Áden, which occupies the eastern part of the peninsula. Before Áden, and fully commanding it, is the little fortified islet of Sirah,

a triangular rock of about 430 feet high towards the southern end, and half a mile long by 600 yards wide. This rock at low-water is now joined to the coast of Arabia, a small creek which used to separate it from the mainland having been filled up with sand. The position of the north point of this island, which may be taken as that of the town of Áden, is 12° 46′ 15″ N. lat., by means of numerous observations of sun and stars on shore; and 45° 10′ 20″ E. long., being the mean of eight chronometers measured from Bombay, the flagstaff there being assumed at 72° 54′ 26″ E.[1] North of Áden are the headlands of Kulagh and El Eregh.

At the place where we cast anchor we had a distinct view, across the bay, of Jebel Ḥasan, a mountainous peninsula, not unlike that of Áden itself, and rising to the height of 1237 feet. The whole scene around us, when the first feeling of disappointment at which I have already hinted is over, owing to its singularity and novelty, is not without interest. Great masses of dark-coloured volcanic rock and mountain rise behind and before, on the peninsula of Áden, with peaks frequently turretted and castellated, in the wildest and most fantastic forms, with flanks bleak and bare as they appeared when first upheaved amidst the convulsions of nature, or first glazed with the lava streams which flowed over their surface. Not a pile of vegetation is visible, even in the fissures, furrows, and dingles, where the loose and pulverized scoriae and drift-sand are collected, if we except here and there a stunted and languishing "shoot out

[1] Captain Haines on the S. coast of Arabia, in Royal Geograph. Soc. Journ., vol. ix., p. 733.—There is a typographical error in the Journal in reference to the longitude of Bombay, which is usually given at 72° 54′ 36″. But two corrections respecting the longitude of Bombay affecting that of 'Aden, require to be made. The trigonometrical survey of India, based upon the longitude of Madras, considered to be 80° 17′ 21″, placed the longitude of Bombay about three minutes more west, viz. 72° 51′ 15″. But recent discoveries make Madras to be in 80° 14′ 0″. See Horsburgh's India Directory, vol. i., p. 298.

of a dry ground." Close to the anchorage there is a small extension of land, of a sandy formation, stretching about 180 feet from the base of a large rock, which has afforded a site for the erection of a few huts and storehouses, and where a small cluster of cottages, dignified by the name of a hotel, was rising for the accommodation of voyagers. The coals collected for the steamers were lying along the shore, and a considerable number of Africans and Arabs were busily engaged in piling them into heaps.

Leaving our draftsman to exercise his pencil and brush in sketching the curious scenery which had attracted our attention, I went ashore with my young charge in a small boat manned by Sumálís, natives of the north-western peninsula, with which Africa terminates on the coast adjoining the mouth of the Red Sea, and reaching from Cape Ḳardafui to Báb el-Mandeb. They were but very poorly clothed, like the boatmen and fishermen of India. The people of these tribes, a considerable number of whom are now settled in 'Aden, are fine-limbed, comely and handsome in their shape, and without the prominent and pouted lip, and protuberant belly and hips of most of their continental neighbours. Their skin is of a dark copper colour. Their teeth are beautifully white and clean. Their hair is more curly than woolly, and naturally black; but, by the aid of shell-lime which they apply to it, they frequently change it to a light brown or red, and give it a sort of wiry form. They resemble the Nubians in appearance, and they are remarkable both for sprightliness and intelligence. Most of them frequenting the shores of Arabia have picked up the language of that country; but they have a language of their own quite distinct from that tongue, a few specimens of the vocables of which I received from Dr. Wolff during his last visit to Bombay.

The town and encampment of 'Aden are about five miles

distant from Steamer Point. A couple of donkeys were offered to us as a means of transport thither, by a Jewish boy with sparkling eyes and ringed locks, who commenced his negotiations with us for a settlement of the charge by exhausting his whole stock of English in the single sentence, "Give one rupee *to* one donkey." We scampered along the road, which leads close to the shore, and sometimes below the impending cliffs. Shells, and fragments of shells, of various species, lay scattered among the sands to such an extent, that any quantity of lime could be procured from them for the purposes of building. Leaving the shore, at the distance of about three miles from our starting point now mentioned, the road begins to ascend the clift of a hill, where it is artificially cut. Near the highest part, there is a large barrier-gate kept by sentries, with a wall running along the hill on each of its sides. On the adjacent rocks, rising to a height of about 500 feet, there are also defences, from which effectual resistance could easily be given to any invaders. The pathway from the gate onwards is cut through the solid rock, its walls rising high on each side for the distance of about a quarter of a mile.

On emerging from the defile, we met Mordecai, a Jew from Bombay, whom I had engaged to accompany me on my travels, and whom I had sent forward the preceding month, that, with reference to various matters which I had brought to his notice, he might collect information for me respecting his kindred according to the flesh residing in Aden, and the province of Yemen in general, of whom so little is yet known in Europe. He was the first to point our attention to the town, ensconced in an amphitheatre of rocky mountains, literally in the crater of a volcano, and with its only opening in the direction of the lofty and fortified islet of Sirah, which, when we first observed it, appeared merely part of the circle of hills on the margin of which it is situated. The town, if found in another locality, would appear mean to extremity;

but the oddness of its site disarms criticism. The attention is irresistibly arrested by the lofty and unscalable walls, and impregnable towers and bulwarks, which nature hath reared around it. The houses, or rather huts, are in rows traversing a small valley, and very slight in their construction, and limited in their accommodation. Many of them are entirely of wicker-work, with waggon roofs, with interwoven leaves of the date-palm for a covering. Not a few of them have flat roofs. They are generally of undressed stone, compacted with layers and pillars of wood instead of mortar. Not a glass window is to be seen; and the apertures for admitting the light are so small, that they defy the entrance of the thief. Those in the Jews' quarter are the most respectable; but even of them little favourable can be said. The palace of the Sulṭán is a forsaken tenement; but in the days of yore it must, as an Asiatic domicile, have been worthy of its occupant.[1] One of the most conspicuous objects in the town is the tomb of the Muhammadan saint Idrís ibn Ábdallah. Few towers or minarets are visible. Numerous wells and tanks excavated with care, many of which have become useless, may also be observed.[2] The residence of Captain

[1] "In the thick coating of cement with which the shattered edifice is still partially incrusted," says Sir William Harris, "are the remains of various raised devices; and a profusion of open fret-work in wood is still observable, interspersed with latticed cornices, comprising choice sentences from the Koran."—Highlands of Æthiopia, vol. i., p. 16.

[2] "In addition to the wells, three hundred in number, the remains of basins of great magnitude are found in various directions; and in the Valley of Tanks are a succession of hanging cisterns, formed by excavations in the limestone rock. These are lined with flights of steps, and supported by lofty buttresses of imperishable masonry, forming deep reservoirs of semi-elliptical form, which still blockade every channel in the mountain side, and once served to collect the precious drops from heaven, when showers doubtless were more abundant than at the present day."—Harris, vol. i., p. 26. A very heavy rain, which swept away several of the inhabitants of 'Aden, and did much damage to the houses, fell a few days before our visit.

Haines of the I.N., formerly engaged in the survey of this part of the coast, and from the first the political agent or governor of our Arabian possessions, is in the form of a neat Indian bungalow. We got the kindest and most hospitable welcome from its inmates. At the Post Office, in a neighbouring cottage, I had the pleasure of receiving communications from Britain, which had arrived by the last mail.

As soon as our first greetings with our friends were over, we set out on an exploratory excursion through the town. Under the guidance of Mordecai, we proceeded to the quarter in which the Jews are located. We betook ourselves in the first instance to the residence of Samuel Nási, the second in authority in their community. He met us at the door of his house, and invited us to follow him to an apartment in the upper story. Some of the female members of the family, arrayed in no very cleanly habiliments, saluted us at the top of the stair, and immediately retired. After making a few miscellaneous inquiries at us, he showed us his library, consisting of a considerable number of works both in manuscript and print. He professed his deep regard for the Talmud; and informed us that the Jews of Yemen now use in their public worship the liturgy of the Sephardim, or Portuguese Jews. Of this work he showed me a copy printed at Sáfed, north of the lake of Tiberias, of the same edition as one in my own possession. He had on hand a stock of the Hebrew Bible, amounting to thirty-six copies, received from the Bible Society in Bombay, at half-price, for retail among the Jews of the province. He declared himself unable to read Arabic except in the Hebrew character; but he accepted from me a copy of the General Assembly's excellent letter to the Jews,—which I had got translated into Arabic for distribution in my journey,—in the hope that some friend might read

it in his hearing.[1] On leaving his abode, we went to that of Moshe Menahem, the "ruler of the Jews," who politely walked with us to the synagogue. He is the only Israelite at Aden who reads and writes Arabic in its proper character; and I had pleasure in making him a little gift similar to that which I had put into the hands of the Nási. At the synagogue we found about twenty persons engaged in repeating the קריאת הלילה, or night prayers, some of whom were standing at the door and lobby, as if unworthy to enter the interior. The synagogue, which is the only public building which the Jews of Aden possess, is of the plainest description, being merely a square room of considerable height, but with scarcely a hole to admit the light. Its furniture is very limited, consisting of a small desk and three or four stools, a coarse mat spread over the floor, three or four tumblers used as lamps, and several ostrich eggs as ornaments, suspended from the roof. At the synagogue we were introduced to a Jew from India, who saluted us very cordially, and joined himself to our company. In the course of our wanderings and meanderings in the town, we came upon one of the three or four Jewish "schools," at which the young idea, as in most aboriginal seminaries in the East, is taught rather how to *shout* than to shoot. About a dozen boys, without either book or paper before them, were following their pedagogue in the recitation of some passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, bawling at the utmost pitch of their voices. Most of the adult Jews with whom we afterwards came into contact, seemed timid and retiring, and destitute of that ease and confidence which, under the British Government, they will not long fail to obtain. In the bázárs we observed a considerable number of shop-keepers from India,

[1] This excellent tract, which bears the signature of Dr. Gordon, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, was composed by the late Robert Wodrow, Esq. of Glasgow, a most devoted friend of the Jews throughout the world. It is written in an admirable spirit.

attracted to this rising place, doubtless, by the *auri sacra fames* which has so widely dispersed the high-turbaned and long-headed Baniás and Bhátiás, along the shores both of Arabia and Africa. An enterprizing Párs'í was here and there observed, as their rival, pushing his way through the throng, or sitting over his baskets and making love to the Indian camp-followers, that they might serve themselves at his store. The setting sun was admonishing the followers of Muhammad that the hour of prayer had arrived; but the coffee-houses seemed to have greater attractions than the mosks, the principal of which is but an humble erection, enriched, however, by the precious dust of Sheikh Idrís, who receives an idolatrous regard similar to that which is extended to the Musalmán *pirs*, or saints, of India. Our time did not permit us to visit the Muhammadan and Jewish burying-grounds, which we were anxious to see. I remember having, some years ago, translated a few Hebrew inscriptions from the latter, copied by Lieut. J. C. Cruttenden, I.N., at present assistant to the political agent at 'Aden. Most of them simply recorded the names, parentage, worth, and death of the departed, and represented them as now occupying the regions of "the living." I was struck with their resemblance to the humble memorials of the dead in our village churchyards.

We had an agreeable little party after the close of day, at the residence of Captain Haines, and I there met among others with Dr. Bloxam of the Bombay Establishment, destined afterwards to be my fellow-voyager from Cyprus to Smyrna, and the Bosphorus. With Captain Haines I had a conversation on the Hemyaritic inscriptions, found in the south of Arabia, which are elsewhere noticed in this work. I received from him some statistical information respecting 'Aden, and especially connected with the Jews, about whom I had forwarded to him by the hands of Mordecai, a set of

queries, answers to which he had taken the trouble to commit to writing.

The following is a census of the population of the settlement as prepared in the month preceding my visit:

CENSUS OF THE POPULATION OF 'ADEN, DECEMBER 1842.

| | Europeans, Male. | " Female. | Portuguese, Male. | " Female. | Arabs, Male. | " Female. | Jews. | Jewesses. | Sumálís, Male. | " Female. | Banias. | Pársís. | Indian Shopkeepers. | Afghans. | African Wils. | Egyptians, Males. | " Females. | Bornis. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Belonging to the Town, | 5 | 2 | 136 | 20 | 8960 | 3210 | 590 | 480 | 1430 | 620 | 196 | 38 | 100 | 180 | 180 | 146 | 50 | 111 |

Total Males and Females, 16,454.

Return of the 'Aden Field Force, including Camp-Followers.

| | Europeans, Males. | Females. | Male Children. | Female Children. | Natives, Male. | " Female. | Male Children. | Female Children. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Belonging to the Troops, | 708 | 67 | 42 | 33 | 1982 | 374 | 157 | 121 | Total, 8,484. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Grand total of the Inhabitants, . . | 19,938 |
| Europeans, Male and Female, . . | 857 |
| Natives, Male and Female, . . | 19,081 |

"N.B.—Many of the Muhammadans would not acknowledge the number of females in their houses, and about 1000 Sumálís had left for the fair at Berberah just before the census was taken."

How all this population can be accommodated in the place, it is difficult to understand, unless we refer to the fact, that a great part of it is not yet permanently accommodated.

The population has more than quadrupled itself since the occupation of the town by the English in 1841. The convenient harbour of Áden, its favourable position with regard to Africa and the coffee districts of Arabia, its security under the English Government, and the circulation of money in consequence of the large military force which is appointed to protect it, form its chief recommendations as a place of residence. When the surrounding sheikhs accept the treaty of amity which is offered to them by the English Government, —as they are expected speedily to do,—the place will rapidly rise in importance.

On the general population of Áden, I need scarcely make any remarks. The Sídís mentioned in the table, are negroes of the West Coast of Africa, principally from the districts adjoining to Zengibár. They are blacker and stouter than the Sumálís, who, as I have said, resemble the Nubians. A sketch of one of them is subjoined to our next chapter.

The Jewish population, it will be seen from the census, amounts to 1070 souls. The proportion of females to males, is greater than is to be found in any other class of the community,—a circumstance which shows that that part of the population is more permanent, or has been longer established, than any other. Of the past and present state of these Jews, and the members of their fraternity established throughout Arabia Felix, I shall give some account in another part of this work.

To make the best of our time at Áden, the morning after our arrival we got astir at gun-fire, which there, as at the different military stations in India, is regulated by the appearance of the first streak of light on the Eastern horizon. After dispatching a cup of coffee, we sallied out from the bungalow of the political agent, bent on a ramble, which we resolved should terminate at the place of embarkation at Steamer Point. We first surveyed the volcanic walls of the crater in which

the town is situated, in order to obtain a general view of their configuration and construction. They are at present highest toward the south and east; but as the ridges of lava all radiate from the crater in these directions, the lower part of the lip of the volcanic cone must have been where the rocks are now highest; and some violent disruption must have subsequently overthrown the sides of the cone towards the north and east, which were originally the most lofty, and at the same time the weakest, as no floods of lava have issued forth from them to serve as supports and buttresses to their walls. The islet of Sirah, to the east of the town, is only a large fragment of the eastern side of the cone. The volcano must have been submarine in its original outburst; as the stratification around the peninsula and the elevation of limestone masses, even to the highest parts of Jebel Shamshán, as we were informed, satisfactorily show. The whole peninsula must have been raised from the waters like some of the islands of the Red Sea. Shells, such as are now procurable on the shore, are found, it is said, near the summits of some of its peaks. That the volcano was active in the present geological era, there can, I think, be little doubt; but it must have been long quiescent before it was chosen as the site of a commercial emporium. Abulfeda speaks of a report having come from Mecca, of fire having been seen bursting forth near Áden, and from the adjacent mountains, A.D. 1253. It was particularly brilliant by night, he says, and sent up large columns of smoke.[1] This notice, however, is too general, and refers to too evanescent phenomena, to warrant any conclusion about late volcanic action in the locality.

[1] وفيها وصلت الاخبار من مكة بان نار ظهرت من عدن و بعض جبالها بحيث كانت تظهر في الليل ويرتفع منها في النهار دخان عظيم —Abulfed. Annal. A. H. 651.

In the course of our first movements in the morning, we visited my respected friend Major Jacob of the Bombay Artillery, and Lieutenant Bell, of the Bombay Engineers. The major, along with another Bombay officer, had been engaged for some time in examining the defences of Aden, with a view to their improvement; and he gave us a lively representation of the whole locality, observing that, at no great expense, it might be rendered impregnable.

On leaving them, we continued our exploration, such as it was, by the way of the "grand pass," by which we yesterday entered. Here, as elsewhere, we collected specimens of the different varieties of rock to take to Britain. The natives who accompanied us, did not understand our diligence in this respect, and they charitably came to the conclusion, which they did not fail to express to the passers-by, that we were either mad, or practising magic in search of gold or treasure! The mass of the mountains of Aden consists of a dark-coloured, vesicular, friable lava. Quantities of obsidian and pumice are procurable. The best specimens of the former which I obtained were presented to me by a friend, who said he had got them on the islet of Sirah. The lava is in many places mixed with the limestone which it disturbed. It contains white nodules of a species of zeolite, of an amygdaloidal form. Chalcedonies of a dirty colour, and other pebbles are abundant.[1]

[1] Since writing the above notice of the rocks of 'Aden, I have received a Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, containing a note on a "Set of Specimens from 'Aden, by G. Buist, LL.D.," one of the most accomplished mineralogists and geologists in the East, substantially agreeing with what I have ventured to say respecting them. "The glassy stag or obsidian," observes Dr. Buist, "is not of frequent occurrence. It appears in veins or streams running down from the summits of the volcanic peaks like indurated lava. Near the cantonments these present fantastic and beautiful appearances—the torrent of melted matter seeming to have encountered numerous objects in its course, and to have been split into a variety of cascades." This obsidian, of course,

We kept along the shore, in sight of the steamer, till midday, when we judged it expedient to go on board. The disagreeable process of coaling from the charger was still proceeding. The negroes engaged in the work, to the number of a couple of hundreds, appeared like very demons, regulating their motions, and swinging their burdens, by the clang and clatter and barbarous dance of some couples of their own number, who, in mock antagonism to one another, were leaping and stamping, and writhing, and contorting their faces and bodies, and brandishing and applying their clubs, in the most horrible and grotesque manner imaginable. Nothing could be more ridiculous than their appearance; and every person seemed astonished that the India Company, which employs them, and which is universally noticed for its kind treatment of the inhabitants of the East, should tolerate them in all their folly and madness. But this is not the worst of the matter. The uninterrupted exertion which they always make, is attended with such fearful over-excitement, that it has been calculated that one life is lost for every hundred ton of coals put on board a steamer! Several wretched fellows dropped down from absolute exhaustion in our sight; and I heard one of our passengers, Mr. Bevan, a surgeon of the Bombay establishment, declare that, but for his timely interposition, or that of the surgeon of the vessel, some of them would have risen no more. Surely it could easily be arranged that they could work in parties, alternately taking the place of one another, and conducting themselves in a calmer and more orderly, and regular manner, than they do

is not very compact. It is also often not very pure, but much mixed with with earth and lime, a sort of vitreous lava.

Dr. Buist alludes to volcanic ashes "found on the summit of the hill near Steamer Point." These would seem to indicate that 'Aden has been a centre of volcanic activity, at least in our own geological era, as they bear no resemblance to the drift-sand to be seen in abundance below.

at present. The claims of humanity demand that some improvement should be forthwith introduced.

Before setting sail, we received an Arab pilot on board. He was a native of Mokhá, and, as I afterwards found, a very intelligent man, singularly well acquainted with the navigation of the Red Sea, and the different towns on its coasts. When our steam was getting up, Captain Boulderson and I amused ourselves by securing specimens of the hair of the different classes of Africans on board, for the purpose of comparison. The parties whose jetty locks we curtailed, were not flattered by our anxiety to procure from them a keepsake, but seemed afraid that we were going to bewitch them. A great difference was of course apparent between the wiry hair of the Sumálís and the woolly hood of the negroes of the African coast near Zengibár. Some Berberí sheep were brought on board as part of our stock. They were extremely curious-looking animals. General England, one of our passengers, and our draftsman, favoured me with drawings of a specimen or two, from which the accompanying sketch is taken. The tail of the animal is broad and large, like that of the *ovis Arabica platyura* of Linnæus, of which its appears to be only a variety; but it is more tucked up, and not so long and pendant as that of the sheep of this species which I afterwards observed in Syria. In some of the animals before us, we noticed a rudimental tendency to a dewlap, as in the bovine family.

Gabra and Maricha, my two Abyssinian pupils and protégés, hung upon us to the very last, displaying the strongest filial affection, and expressing the warmest gratitude for the kindness which they had experienced during the four years and eight months that they had lived in my family at Bombay. We gave them our best advice, and commended them to the protection and blessing of the Lord, on parting with

them, praying that to their benighted countrymen they might be the instruments of great spiritual good, even as Frumentius and Ædesius, the tender Tyrian youths through whom the Gospel was first introduced into their native land. Captain Haines had kindly agreed to forward them to the coasts of Abyssinia. I afterwards learned from themselves, that on leaving Aden, they sailed to Ḥodeidah, north of Mokhá, from which place they crossed the Red Sea to Maṣawwà, on their way to Adawá and Gondar. Their return to Bombay for the completion of their studies, after a perilous journey and voyage, and the judgment which they formed of the corrupted Christianity of Ethiopia, when they had an opportunity of contemplating it after their own conversion, I notice in the second volume of this work

Berberi Sheep.

Peninsula of Aden. (Second View.)

## CHAPTER II.

### VOYAGE FROM ADEN TO SUEZ.

Our steamer began to shoot through the calm surface of the waters about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th January. For a short time the peninsula of Jebel Ḥasan, the counterpart of that of Ȧden, on the western side of the Bandar Tuwayyí, and rising to the height of 1237 feet, and other contiguous peaks, including those elegantly denominated the Asses' Ears, were the most prominent objects in view. Jebel Kharaz, was next the *Kiblâh* of our observation. According to Captain Haines, its altitude is 2085 feet. When it was getting dark, we saw the coast of Africa in the distance, and the six volcanic islets called the Brothers, in the entrance of the larger strait of Báb el-Mandeb, the "Gate of Tears."[1] The most prominent part of the

[1] These in Arabic are denominated the "Seven Islands," but they are only six in number. Captain Haines says, that the most western is certainly volcanic.

coast of Africa here is Jebel Sejân, a volcanic peak, somewhat resembling a haycock, and, with the headland with which it is connected, bounding the southern entrance into the Red Sea. Jebel Haḍhálí is a remarkable eminence on the range of hills, about fifteen miles to the westward of Jebel Sejân; but this we were not able to observe.

Next morning we entered the smaller strait of the Báb el-Mandeb about three o'clock. I was called on deck at this hour by one of the sailors; and with Dhanjibhái I took my seat on the forecastle, to make the best of the scene. The moon was about its setting, and it added to its interest. We had but a very faint view of Perim Island, and the heights on the adjoining cape, though they were near to our vessel. The strait, at its narrowest part, is only a mile and a half wide, on a line running across from the Fisherman's, or Oyster, rock, and the depth of the water varies from six to seventeen fathoms. Perim is about four and a half miles long by two broad, and is a bare, uninhabited rocky island, rising 230 feet above the sea.[1] The larger strait, which lies to the west of it, is about eleven miles wide. The cape of Báb el-Mandeb on the Arabian side to the west, has two principal elevations, Jebel Manhalí, and Jebel Heikah. We had land in sight on both sides of the Red Sea when daylight appeared, Jebel Abúlú, lying opposite to the Rás, or headland, of Dumeirah to the south-west, and Jebel Zí, close to the shore on the north-west. As we advanced northward, we did not see Darmabah, or any of the other islands of 'Asab Bay. They lie very low.

We had a good view of the town of Mokhá in the forenoon, both with the naked eye and the telescope; and we received descriptions of it from some of our fellow-voyagers, who had paid it a visit. It lies close to the shore, running

[1] Haines on the South Coast of Arabia, in Royal Geog. Jour. for 1839, p. 126.

from south to north. Its towers and minarets, particularly that of its great mosque,[1] built in honour of Shádí, who is supposed to have founded the town, and brought the coffee plant into the neighbourhood, about the fifteenth century, and lofty whitewashed houses, with their flat roofs, give it an interesting appearance from the sea. The houses which are standing are very substantial; but many of the buildings are in ruins. The town is surrounded by a strong wall, built of stone, with several round towers at equal distances. Its suburbs lie principally towards the south. It is situated between two low points of land, which project from the shore and form a kind of bay. At each of these points there is a circular battery, or castle; but that at the south is now in ruins. There is another battery in the middle of that part of the town which touches upon the sea, called the central battery, at which are the landing-place and custom-house. There are not many gardens in the vicinity of the place; but a considerable number of date trees are visible around it. The fruits for which it is noted by sailors, such as grapes, peaches, apricots, mangoes, plantains, pine-apples, and melons, are brought from the interior. Its bázár is extensive, and the provisions in it are abundant. The sheep with which it is supplied are imported from the coast of Abyssinia, and its rice principally from India. It is deficient in the indispensable element of water, that of a pure quality being brought to it from a considerable distance. It is a place of great importance in a commercial point of view, though its harbour, from the shoals opposite the town, is not of very easy access, and large ships are obliged to anchor in the open sea beyond them.[2] Its foreign trade is now prin-

[1] Some years ago, it had four large and six small mosques.

[2] "One of these (shoals) lies one mile due west from the south port; it is about half a cable length over, has two fathoms on its shallowest part, and from three to six fathoms close to it: the other is nearly two miles to the S.W., is about the same size, has two and a-half fathoms on it, and

cipally in the hands of Hindú Baniás; but it had formerly English, French, and Dutch factories. The restoration of 'Áden, which has many advantages, from its lying to the exterior of the mouth of the Red Sea, and being well regulated as a place of trade, is telling upon it to its great injury. There can be little doubt that in the course of a few years, the greater quantity of the coffee and drugs of Arabia Felix and of the African coast, will be exported from the English settlement. At the same time, Mokhá, from the facilities which it has of communication with the interior, will not lose all its importance. Should a Christian mission be founded at 'Áden, Mokhá will form one of its most accessible and important outposts. I was not able to learn, on board our ship, the extent of its present population, which consists principally of Arabs and Africans. According to information which I received from the Jews of 'Áden, it contains about 125 Israelites. Mokhá is a dependency of Ṣanáá, the capital of Arabia Felix, but the government at the time we passed it, had been usurped by an Arab, whom the Imám of Ṣanáá had not been able to displace.

On the morning of the 13th January, we passed the group composing the Ḥarnísh[1] and Sukkar Islands, and so close to some of their detached islets, that we fired several shots into them from the guns of the steamer, which raised great quantities of dust. Commander Grieve, an intelligent officer of the Indian Navy, who had joined us as a passenger at 'Aden, and who is well acquainted with this part of the Red Sea,

four fathoms close to it; between it and the shore are seven and six fathoms. The third lies about three-fourths of a mile W. by S. from the north fort, is a cable length over, with two and three-quarters fathoms as the least water, and three and a half fathoms between it and the fort."—Sailing Directions for the Red Sea, by R. Moresby and T. Elwon, Esqrs., footnote p. 3. This work contains several valuable geographical gleanings, the result of the survey of the Red Sea, so creditable to the East India Company, and the intelligent and enterprising officers of its Navy, by whom it was executed.

[1] Sometimes given as Hánish.

favoured us with his observations upon them, when we had them in view. Most of them are of volcanic origin, and from the perfect form of the cones and craters in some instances, and the manner in which black and brown scoriæ and ashes are strown over them, it appears that the volcanoes have been active at no very remote period.[1] Some of these islands might, to a small extent, be colonized. There is a good deal of grass found in the valleys of the Little Ḥarnísh, and numerous antelopes. There are also some grass and a few antelopes on the Great Ḥarnish, which is upwards of seven miles in circumference. Sukkar is about twenty-eight miles in circumference, and nearly nine miles long from south to north. Though it is mostly barren, composed of a series of lofty hills, dark and bare, it has wood both on its northern and southern extremities, and grass in some of its valleys, affording pasturage to antelopes. It is visited by fishing boats, which capture sharks and turtles, and procure supplies of edible fishes.

[1] The volcanic formation of this group seems to have been overlooked by Ehrenberg. "We touched only at two islands, which were evidently called into existence by volcanic activity, namely, at the Arabian island, Kotumbul, in the southern part of the Red Sea, between Kamfidah and Keisán. The whole is one indented conic rock consisting of lava which is partly decayed, and appears to have formed the northern edge of a submarine crater which has long been extinguished. The other island we visited was the Abyssinian island, Ḥawákíl, which is situated still more to the south, and contains mountains. I examined them only on the north-west side; they consisted of rock something like burnt jasper without lava or basalt. From both I have brought specimens of rock. Kotumbul rises about 300 feet, and Ḥawákíl 150, from the level of the sea. Both are encircled by corals, which do not appear to participate in the peculiarities of these islands. From a distance we noticed the volcanic island Jebel Tayer, or Sabahn (Dukhán,) which is a mountain of inconsiderable height, (only about 150 feet,) without any distinguishing mark. Its centre rises in a peak, sloping gradually on the west and north side. *There are no other volcanic islands in the Red Sea, nearly the whole extent of which we have examined.*"—Ehrenberg on the Formation of Coral Islands and Coral Banks, in the Journ. of the Bombay B. of the R.A.S., Oct. 1843. But compare with this the notices of the Ḥarnísh and other islands, in the Sailing Directions for the Red Sea, prepared by the East India Company's surveyors.

Hitherto, we had land in sight on the Arabian coast. The district of the Tehámah, or low country, running parallel with the shore, has little or no cultivation, being almost nothing more than a sandy desert. It contains very few villages.[1] To the east of it, also running parallel with the sea, is a range of volcanic, and further inland, a chain of high, primitive and stratified mountains. It is in the valleys intermediate between these mountains, and on their sloping sides, that we have the culture and produce that merit the name for the district, of Arabia Felix. In the course of the day we lost sight of land. Towards evening we must have been opposite Hodeidah, one of the coffee ports, with a tolerable bázár, but inferior to Mokhá. The winds were here blowing from the south, as they had been from the time of our entering the Red Sea, and as they generally do from the straits to Jebel Táyer in latitude 15° 30′ N. during the winter months, from the beginning of October to the end of April, except for an occasional day or two on the change of the moon, when they are from the north. From Jebel Táyer to latitude 19° or 20°, they are variable at this season, blowing nearly as much from the north as from the south. From latitude 21° to 27° the northerly wind is the prevailing, and from 27° to Suez, the wind is almost constantly from the northward. The currents generally run with the wind. In summer the northerly winds prevail with more or less strength throughout the whole sea, from Suez to Báb el-Mandeb. Captain Rogers, to whom I am indebted for this notice, says, that during the winter months the northerly wind, throughout the sea, is generally accompanied by a dry atmosphere, and the southerly wind

[1] The boundaries of the Tehámah (تهامة) are thus stated by the Arab geographer Edrisi:—"On the west the sea of Kolzum (Suez), on the east, a chain of mountains running from south to north. The length of this province from Sorjah to 'Aden, along the coast of the sea, is twelve days' march. Its breadth is four days from the mountains to the territory of the Alabakah."—Sect. V.

by one that is damp.[1] The imperfect observations which I made on our passage, agreed with his information, except, perhaps, near the mouth of the Red Sea, where the atmosphere was remarkably clear.[2]

I should have been glad that we had got a peep at the islands called Jebel Zebáyer and Jebel Táyer as we passed them. The former is about eight miles in circumference, and nearly three miles in length, north and south. It has three remarkable hills, the largest of which rises to a height of about 600 feet. There are several islets and rocks connected with it, which, like itself, are volcanic. To the north of it, extending over a distance of some hundred and twenty miles, there are numerous islands, the largest of which is Ḳamarán to the south, and Farisán to the north, which are both inhabited. There is a corresponding series of islands near the Abyssinian coast on the west, the largest of which is Dhalak, very irregularly shaped, and which, though its greatest breadth has been estimated at only 18 miles, is 120 miles in circumference. Dhalak has seven towns or villages, the principal of which is Dubelú, which carries on a trade with Loheiyah and Ḳeisán, giving the produce of its pearl and fishing banks for grain and dates. It is particularly described in Lord Valentia's Travels. I have from time to time received notices of it from friends in the Indian Navy, to one of which I elsewhere give a place. Some of the coral and sandy islands contiguous to it, are inhabited. Maṣawwá, which is situated in the northern extremity of Ar-

[1] See Memorandum of Winds and Currents in the Red Sea, in the Sailing Directions, by Commander T. E. Rogers, I.N.

[2] Parsons, in his "Travels in Asia and Africa," thus speaks of the winter months at Mokhá—"The mornings and evenings are cold, yet a southerly wind prevails most of the time, with fine clear weather; and what is very remarkable in this country, and the reverse of every country I have been in heretofore, that it is always dry and fine clear weather with a southerly wind, and the reverse when the wind is northerly, it being then always damp, with more or less of a mist."—P. 280.

gego, or rather Harkíko Bay, carries on considerable trade with Mokhá and Jeddah, and is a sort of emporium for northern Abyssinia.

Returning east again to Jebel Táyer, it may be mentioned that one of its craters continued to emit smoke till very lately. It is called by the Arabs, Jebel Dukhán, or the "hill of smoke." Its perpendicular height is about 900 feet above the level of the sea. It is nearly abreast of the town of Loheiyah, but about a degree to the westward. Loheiyah is built of coral, and has some large houses. It is a place of considerable importance in a mercantile point of view.

On the 14th of January, we were entirely out of sight of land. There was almost a complete calm, and the heat was considerable. On the following day, which was the Sabbath, we expected, from the appearance of the atmosphere, to have had a north-wester; and, on this account, we had public service, not on the deck, but in the saloon, where I preached to the passengers. The northerly winds, however, were scarcely perceptible till the Monday. They continued to the end of our course in the Red Sea. For several days we had no view of land on either side. I devoted my time, therefore, to study, and the arrangement of my notes connected with the Jews of Yemen, and the general geography of that province. It was my intention, had the vessel stopped at Jeddah, to have left it there, and to have set out from that place in the *attempt* to reach Mecca. I had been encouraged to think of such an enterprize by a letter which I had received from my friend Lieutenant Christopher, of the Indian navy, previously to my departure from India. This enterprizing officer was assured by the governor of the place that no obstacle would now be offered to the European traveller quietly proceeding from the coast to the "sacred" city. Though the Turk probably under-estimated the bigotry of the Arabs, it might be well to test the assurance of safety which he expressed.

On the 19th of January we passed through the straits of Jubál at the mouth of the Bahr es-Suweis, or sea of Suez. We had a distinct view of Rás Muḥammad, a headland forming the most southern part of the peninsula of Mount Sinai. It terminates in a broken cliff, about ninety feet high, but soon decreases in height to a low sandy plain. North-west of it, there are several dangerous reefs on the Arabian side, which admonish the navigator to keep close to the islands on the Egyptian side, where the sea, at the entrance of the gulf, is very deep. The first of these islands which we passed, was that called Shidwán. It is about seven miles in length, and rises to a height of about 700 feet. The island of Jubál is two and a half miles in diameter, and it has a considerable elevation. The low islands near it are mostly of coral formation in their highest parts.[1] We had now the lofty and

[1] I brought with me to this country twenty-six species of coral from the Red Sea, presented to me by friends in the Indian navy. This is scarcely one-fourth, however, of the number that may be there procured. Ehrenberg says:—"We made a collection of the different species of coral animals which we found on the coral banks, . . . and which contains *one hundred and ten* different species, and consequently nearly three times as many as those collected and described by Shaw, Forskâl, Savigny, and Rüppell together."

I shall be excused for here noticing, incidentally though it be, some of the general results of Ehrenberg's most valuable researches in the Red Sea, as far as its coral formations are concerned. They would have been highly valued on our voyage. "The Red Sea, if compared with the Mediterranean, Baltic, and North Seas, and the Atlantic Ocean, with their coasts, appears to Europeans to differ from them in having all its shores encircled with flat rocky banks, which just rise to the surface of the water, but are almost always covered with it. . . . These rocks, which rise from the bottom of the sea, are covered with corals. They form, indeed, the coral banks of the Red Sea. They are sometimes found in one unbroken chain near the coast, sometimes they run in parallel lines into the sea. . . . These reefs are most numerous on the Arabian coast, half-way down the Red Sea. . . . The depth of the middle part of the Red Sea is so great that an anchor cannot be cast there. . . . When we crossed the sea from the Arabian isle Kamarán to Dhalak, we met with coral banks near every island. . . . In the middle and deepest part of this large sheet of water from Jeddah in Arabia to Kosseir in Africa, not a single coral bank is to be found. . . . The islands of Tirán and Barkán, with other neighbour-

majestic granitic range of Mount Sinai in view; but Jebel Músá itself is not visible in any part of the Red Sea, except near the bluff of Ḥammám Faráun, where, it is said, a glimpse of it can occasionally be caught. The village of Ṭor is the

ing coral reefs, block up the entrance into the bay of 'Akabah. Fennater, however, is no coral bank. . . . Where the water is shallow, coral banks and isles abound, but not a single coral reef rises out of deep water. The Arabian seamen of Tor told us expressly that the bay of Suez, in the southern part of which there are many large coral banks at some distance from the shore, is nowhere very deep. . . . According to their account, the greatest depth of the bay of Suez, in the middle part, does not exceed fifty fathoms. . . . All coral banks in the Red Sea are flat, and run parallel with the surface of the water. The shape is not circular with a lake in the middle, as has been observed in the South Seas. . . . The water is extremely deep on the side towards the open sea, so that the depth of the sea sometimes exceeds a hundred fathoms. The depth is generally the greater the more distant the reefs are from the shore. . . . The whole of the coral reefs examined by ourselves owe their peculiar shape, not merely to the small petrifying animals which we call corals, but more particularly to the geological conditions of the coast, and the bottom of the sea. . . . Large fields of coral reef have a striking and pleasing effect, when seen under favourable circumstances, at low water and in a quiet sea. They appear like meadows covered with flowers, in the midst of which the bark is gliding along, without one knowing, indeed, which of these flowers to contemplate most, and of which to take a drawing and fix in colours, as the next often seems to be more brilliant than its neighbour. . . . Coral animals contribute to the growth of coral reefs in the Red Sea; but I am perfectly convinced that this is not done in masses and layers. . . . Every single coral branch is neither an individual whose life has a certain central point, nor a common dwelling for a number of animals whose age and decay could bring sudden destruction upon all. . . . The coral branch forms a whole bound together by knots, according to certain laws, whose parts are a great number of organic individual animals, which cannot separate themselves at will, but are connected by parts not essential to their individual life. I noticed upon the coral reefs of the Red Sea, immense blocks of living meandra and fabia. . . . Many of them measured more than a fathom, and one and a-half fathoms in diameter, which, considering that they are nearly as round as a ball, will make them immensely large masses. . . . There is not a single island in a state of growth, but all are in a state of decay, and consequently the corals do not promote the growth of the island, but serve only as borders and covers to the submarine rock. Thus it appears that the corals do only delay or hinder the total destruction of the islands by waves, but do not produce new ones."—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1843.

nearest accessible point to it from the Red Sea, being within a two days' journey of it; but here the steamer does not stop.

On the morning of the 20th, we were opposite and near the high and bold land of Abu Deráj, "the father of steps," on the Egyptian side. It comes close to the sea, along which it extends for several miles. The long range of Jebel Ráhah, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice, runs parallel to it, but at a considerable distance from the shore, on the opposite coast. We then passed a remarkable opening in the mountains between Abu Deráj and Jebel 'Atákah, which is marked in Captain Moresby's admirable chart as Wádí Músá. I shall say nothing more respecting it at present, than that the officers of the Indian navy, almost with one consent, have fixed upon it as the valley in which the Israelites were encamped immediately before they passed through the Red Sea on dry land. We viewed it from the deck of the steamer with great interest. We turned our attention from it to the 'Ayún Músá, or Wells of Moses, to the north-east, where we saw several camels drinking of the brackish water. Suez, our desired haven, then appeared in sight. The firing of guns from our steamer announced our approach. We cast anchor about four miles distant from the town. We were soon boarded by the assistant of the English consular agent, and the servants of Messrs. Hill & Co., with whom, before leaving Bombay, we had engaged for our transit across the desert to Cairo. I got into one of the first boats which visited us, with our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Brownrigg. We remarked the exceeding clearness and stillness of the water, and its shallowness to the S.S.E. of the town. A large shark followed us a long way like an affectionate pet dog, and quite regardless of the splashing of the oars. The town, which stands on a small extension of land stretching into the bay, has

nothing interesting in its appearance as seen from its extremity, as you approach it. On the side of the sea, it has no walls. The houses are almost all with flat roofs, and some of them are of considerable size, especially the public buildings or kháns near the shore. They are, in general, built of small round stones, or sun-dried bricks, and most of them exhibit symptoms of decay and wretchedness. Four or five minarets raise themselves in the midst of them; but they are remarkably plain. The shipping which we saw, with the exception of two Europe-built brigs lying outside, consisted of bagalás and other native craft, drawn up in a small creek to the east of the town. We landed about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, amidst the gabble of Arabs and Negroes, who welcomed us to the shores of Egypt with cordial cries for *bakshish*, before they had it in their power to render us any service.

Sidi on board the Cleopatra.

LIBRARY

Muhammad Ali, Pasha of Egypt.

## CHAPTER III.

### TRANSIT OF THE DESERT BETWEEN SUEZ AND CAIRO.

THE house yclept a hotel, into which we were conducted on landing on the shores of Egypt, was a wretched affair; but quite adequate to afford us necessary shelter, during our brief sojourn in Suez. My first concern, after taking a peep into it, was to see our luggage disposed of on the camels which were to convey it over the desert to Cairo. When I had gone through this duty, I returned for a moment to the place at which we had disembarked, to inquire after some of my friends, who had not yet made their appearance from the steamer. There I found the Portuguese gentleman who had come with us from India in a sorrowful plight. He was in the middle of a circle of natives who had determined to curtail his liberty of movement, till they succeeded in extorting from him something in the way of *bakshish*.[1] What this

[1] The Persian بخشش a present. This is one of the very few Persian words which have found their way into the Arabic. It has been introduced principally through the Turks.

article was, however, he could not understand. At length, making a happy guess at its meaning, he called out to me, "What is the value of a bakshish? What kind of a coin is it that they want?" It was of little use to tell him that it might vary from a párah to a purse,[1] as I succeeded in liberating him from his persecutors, by lecturing them on their unseemly rapacity. After this adventure I betook myself again to the "hotel," where I found the passengers discussing the viands which had been provided for our dinner, with no very moderate haste. There was no great occasion for the effort they were making, as the first of the vans which were to convey the party across the desert, were not to start till a couple of hours later. Our seats were allotted in these vans according to the order in which we stood in the lists of the agent for the transit at Bombay. I found that I was destined to be accommodated in the second set which would leave a couple of hours later than the first, to enable us, a stage in advance, to be taken up by the horses which were to be engaged in doing the needful for the party which might precede us.

In company with Dhanjibhái and the Jew Mordecai, I went first to the bázár. We found it a narrow street, with a row of shops on each side, altogether a more respectable place than we expected to see on the edge of the desert, filled with abundance of grains, fruits, and provisions of various kinds, principally brought from the banks of the Nile, and having a few places also for the sale of cloth and cooking utensils. We bought a quantity of figs, dates, raisins, and nuts, from which Mordecai, who, as an Asiatic Jew, would decline to be fed on some of the fare cooked by Christians or Musalmáns, which was likely to be offered to him, was to be furnished with ra-

[1] A párah is the fortieth part of a piastre, nearly a quarter of a farthing, about 100 piastres being reckoned to the pound A purse is 500 piastres, or L.5 sterling.

tions for the desert.[1] From the bázár we went to pay our respects to the Governor of the town, who received us in a very kind manner. He sat down with us at the gate of his mansion, where he is accustomed to administer judgment; and, after offering us pipes and coffee, the usual symbols of a Turkish welcome, he entered very freely into conversation. His name, he told us, was Muḥammad Bey, and he held the rank of a colonel in the army. He had served in Syria, and was with the Egyptian force when it was compelled to evacuate that country in the beginning of 1841. He was at present commander-in-chief, magistrate, collector, and judge of Suez. He was very inquisitive about our late movements in Affghanistan, and asked me how it happened that the British army had suffered so much in that country. On our explaining the matter to him, he said he was quite prepared

[1] Of the customs of the Jews of Europe, who are less strict in their diet than those of Asia, the following notice is given by a popular writer well acquainted with their peculiarities:—"Jews who make any pretensions to religion, cannot associate familiarly with Christians in domestic life, except under certain restrictions. No Jew will eat meat killed or prepared by a Christian; but if compelled by necessity to partake of their food, will confine himself to tea, coffee, bread, eggs, vegetables, and fruit. Nor will he decline fish, if it have fins and scales; but, the vessels, plates, knives, &c., must be such as have not been used for any unclean food. Cheese is objectionable on account of the rennet used in preparing it. Holland furnishes their tables with this article made by Jews, and stamped *coshur*, or clean. Their foreign wines are also imported by Jews; and the reason assigned is, that the Roman Catholic Priests, at certain times, go in procession to sprinkle holy water on the vineyards, and bless them in the name of the Trinity. Whether this be really so or not, it is received as a fact by the Jews; and as they not only use wine on the eve of the Sabbath, and at all festivals, both in the synagogue and at their own houses, but also recite an ejaculatory prayer whenever they partake of it, they will not use any thus profaned. The wine imported for these purposes is carefully sealed and attested; and those who are too poor to pay the high price demanded for it, and yet require it for religious uses, substitute a wine of their own making, which is simply composed of boiling water poured on raisins, and bottled for use. It is here proper to add, that only *devout* Jews attend to these particulars."—Emma de Lissau, p. 346.

Constructed for W. Wilson's Lands of the Bible

by W. & A. K. Johnston, Geographers & Engravers to the Queen, Edinburgh

to make allowances for insurmountable difficulties. When we were seated with him a native was brought up by a party of Arabs, who demanded his punishment for some offence of which they alleged he had been guilty. The poor culprit seemed to anticipate a sound drubbing, for he cast himself on the ground and roared most unmercifully before any thing was said about his case. Out of politeness to the strangers, however, the investigation was deferred. Before we took our leave, a Turkish officer of cavalry, with a number of his followers, arrived from his pilgrimage to Mecca. The Governor, except by gently inclining his head to his salutation, took no notice of him on his arrival; but he gradually began to examine him about his journey, and then ordered him to be treated with the usual civilities. This is a very common method of procedure when Turk is introduced to Turk. The approach which they make to one another is conducted with coldness and caution. It is otherwise with the Arabs, who heartily bless and embrace one another as soon as they meet.

Before we left the Governor, an Arab, arrayed according to the Turkish fashion, addressed us in excellent English. He proved to be one of the young Fellâḥín,[1] who had been sent to Europe for his education by Muḥammad Álí. He had been seven and a half years in Britain, and principally educated at Glasgow, where he had embraced Christianity and been baptized. He remembered with affection his Christian friends in that city, mentioning particularly the names of Drs. Brown and Smyth, two of its most distinguished and respected ministers. He still held fast, he said, the profession of his faith, though he had been induced to

[1] فلاح *felláh*, a peasant or cultivator; plural, فلاحين *felláḥín*, applied to the rural Arab population, as distinguished from that of the towns and the desert.

unite himself in marriage to a young woman, a member of a Muhammadan family. He was engaged for the present as assistant to Mr. Levick, the English vice-consul at Suez; but he expected to be soon called to Cairo by the Páshá, who retained a claim to his services, as to those of all persons whom he educates, both at home and abroad. Muḥammad 'Ali he represented as tolerant to the young men who embraced Christianity when in Europe, and as determined to keep in abeyance the laws of the Musalmáns, which require converts to Christianity to be put to death. Complaints against them by the bigoted devotees of the Ḳurán, he said, he had more than once dismissed. Similar favourable testimonies respecting his Highness I elsewhere received. I was told that on one occasion, when a woman was taken before him to be condemned to death for apostasy from Islám, he dismissed her by merely saying that she had acted a foolish part; and that after her departure he severely reprimanded her accusers, adding that he hoped that no similar case would again be brought to his attention, as it was enough for him to see that his subjects did their duty to him as their ruler, and refrained from injuring their neighbours. The spirit of toleration which he thus evinced is in the highest degree commendable in an eastern prince. I gave the young man some tracts on leaving him, and exhorted him to pray, that amidst abounding iniquity, and his deprivation of the public means of grace, his love might not wax cold. He received them thankfully, and expressed a great interest in the objects of our contemplated journey.

As I must again return to Suez with the reader, I need say nothing more respecting it at present. From this, the greatest Egyptian seaport of the Red Sea, there are several roads, or rather routes, through the desert. With one exception—that turning towards the south, and passing through the opening which we have already noticed in our approach

to Suez, and other defiles leading to the Nile near Basátín, by which we shall afterwards return to Suez—they all deflect somewhat in a curve from the Sea of Suez towards the north, and afterwards toward the Nile, to avoid the highlands of the 'Atáḳah and Mukattem, which occur in the direct line. That which declines farthest to the north is called the Derb el-Máázah, from a tribe of Arabs which used to frequent it. Next to it, in that direction, is the Derb el-Ḥaj, or the route of the pilgrimage, so named from its being that which is taken from Cairo to the fortlet of 'Ajrúd, by the Musalmán pilgrims on their way to Mecca. The distance by it is from eighty-four to eighty-five miles. Between this route and the most southerly—that called the Derb-el-Tawarah,[1] the way of the Mount Sinai Arabs—is the Derb el-Ḥamárah, that in the main taken by the transit vans to and from India. The distance by the Derb el-Ḥamárah, is computed at about seventy-eight or seventy-nine miles. At seven station-houses, erected by the Bombay Steam Committee, a change of horses is obtained. They are named according to the cardinal numbers, from Seven to One, as they approach Cairo.

Dhanjí and I, and Mrs. Fawcett, and two interesting young officers of her Majesty's forty-fourth regiment, and an Indian boy under my care, got into a van together, to start for Cairo. The vehicle was on springs, something like a Glasgow minibus in form, but lightly covered on the top, and with curtains on the sides. Our four horses, which, owing to the great mortality among their race in Egypt during the preceding season, happened to be a late purchase, were quite unaccustomed to the draught; and they proved very unsteady

[1] Adjective formed from طُور Túr* (Taurus) a gigantic mountain, and applied here κατ' ἐξοχήν to Sinai. The Derb et-Tawarah is sometimes called the Derb el 'Ankabíyah, as by Robinson and Smith.—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 53.

and unruly. At one time they would pull us rattling along like the ancient Egyptian war-chariots; and at another, particularly when the wheels of our vehicle would sink a little into the sand, which is rather heavy near Suez, they would come to a dead stand, prove quite refractory, and force us to dismount to their assistance. Those which we got in exchange for them at the stations in the desert were not more obedient and serviceable; and our driver, a native of the Malayan peñinsula, but of Portuguese or Dutch extraction, continued to fire volleys of fearful oaths upon them in Arabic. We were more distressed by his profanity than annoyed by his refractory charge. I several times rebuked him for his swearing; but his habits, too much akin to those of the Arabs in the matter of deprecating the vengeance of God and taking the Divine name in vain, seemed to be uncontrollable. He continued with us to the end of our journey at Cairo.

The sun had gone down ere we left Suez; and we found the desert air to be both so keen and cold, that we congratulated ourselves that we had dispensed with our light Indian dresses for the time being. About half-way from Suez to the station-house number Seven, where we first changed horses, we passed the Bír es-Suweis, or Well of Suez, which of course we had no time to examine. There are two shafts at this place. Their brackish water, though used by cattle, and for the purposes of cooking, is unfit to be drunk by the traveller. The existence of water, however, so near to Suez, coupled with the high ground in the neighbourhood, suggests the idea that some of a better quality might be obtained were the Artesian process of boring to a great depth resorted to. Success would lead to inestimable results; and the mere possibility of it should induce the enterprizing Pasha to try the experiment. The fort of 'Ajrúd, intended principally for the protection of pilgrims, we left to

the right hand. Owing to the darkness of the night, we could not observe anything of the defile called Maḳtal, which Laborde and Sir Gardiner Wilkinson consider to be the Migdol of Exodus, xiv. 2. "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea." "Though the name," says Sir Gardiner, "signifies 'the slaughter,' and appears to mark the spot of some later Arab battle, it must be remembered that the Arabs are in the constant habit of substituting names from their own language, whenever they happen to trace any resemblance to them; an instance of which may be found in *El-Gozéir*, (Algiers,) 'the islands,' substituted for the ancient name, Julia Cæsarea; and in numerous others."[1] Such an Arab battle as is here alluded to is probably the source of the name Muḳtal, rather than any rendering of the Hebrew מגדל, which, according to the well known permutation of letters, would be مجدل *Mejdel* in Arabic, the hard Hebrew ג *gimel* being uniformly transmuted into the soft ج *jim*.[2] If it be supposed that in this instance the Hebrew Migdol is identical with that mentioned by Jeremiah,[3] Muḳtal would be no great corruption of the Egyptian ⲙⲉϫⲧⲱⲗ; but the town of Migdol, which was evidently a place of some consequence, could not be in this defile of the desert, but probably at the extreme north of Egypt, as indicated by the expression from "Migdol to Syene," or Es-Suwán (Aswán), which occurs in Ezekiel.[4]

[1] Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 308.

[2] A familiar instance of this we have in the Hebrew גמל *gamal*, a camel, and the Arabic جمل *jamal*.

[3] Jer. xliv. 1; xlvi. 14.

[4] Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6. The Hebrew is erroneously rendered in our version, "from the *tower* of Syene." In the Septuagint it is ἀπο Μαγδωλοῦ και Συήνης, the Egyptian Jewish translators understanding it in its proper sense.

But we must pass on. At the station number Six, where there are two public, as well as private and servants' rooms, we stopped a couple of hours for rest and refreshment. The first party of vans, we found, had not left before our arrival, so we had again an opportunity of seeing the friends from whom we parted at Suez. We got to the central station, number Four, early in the morning; and there we had an excellent breakfast, with fish, fowls, fruits, and various et ceteras from the Nile, in a tolerably large upper chamber. "This station contains," according to the advertisements of the Transit Company, "a large floor, a ladies' room, servants' room, kitchen, a number of commodious bed-chambers, large water-tank, and stabling." But let not the wayfarer trust too much to its comforts and luxuries. Having nearly a couple of hours at our disposal after breakfast, I set out with my young companions on a survey of the neighbourhood. We visited *the tree* of this desert called the Red Convent, alias the Mother of Rags, from the votive offerings suspended on its branches by the Muhammadan Ḥájís, or pilgrims, on their way to Mecca. It is an acacia Arabica, or the bábul of India. We also took a journey, for a couple of miles I daresay, to the south of the station-house. The desert in this direction is of loose sand covered with millions of jaspers, chalcedonies, and agates, and small fragments of petrified wood, mostly in the form of jaspers and agates. To its geological formation, here and elsewhere, I may afterwards allude. Its vegetation is extremely scanty, consisting only of an occasional tuft or a camel-bush, principally in the hollows, where rain can collect after a smart shower. In moving along, we observed the mirage far more distinctly than I had ever noticed it in the provinces of Káṭhiáwád, or Kach in India. This was a phenomenon which we afterwards frequently witnessed in our journey through Arabia Petrœa, and in such a state of perfection, that nothing but a

knowledge of our locality, and an experience of its deceitfulness, could induce us, at a little distance from it, to believe that it was any thing else than an extensive sheet, or copious lake, of water of crystal purity, reflecting the form of the mountains, and other surrounding objects, and even the clouds of heaven, sometimes in their proper position, and sometimes reversely. The Arabs give to it the name of *saráb*. Identifying it thus with the Hebrew שרב, we cannot fail to see, as has been noticed by some critics, the great beauty and propriety of the image which is used in reference to the happy changes introduced by Messiah's kingdom, by the prophet Isaiah :—

כי־נבקעו במדבר מים ונחלים בערבה
והיה השרב לאגם וצמאון למבועי מים

For in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert,
And the *mirage* shall become a lake and the thirsty land springs of water.[1]

The serâb is the subject of a great many Arabic proverbs. Muḥammad himself in the twenty fourth chapter of the Ḳurán, says—

The works of the unbelievers are like the *Seráb in the plain*,[2]
Which the thirsty imagines to be water, till he goes and finds it is nought.[3]

[1] Isaiah xxxv. 6, 7.

[2] كَسَرَابٍ بِقِيعَةٍ

[3] Kurán, cap. *en-Nur*, versic. 39. For reference to Arabic proverbs, see Sale under this passage.

By some it has been thought that the word *Seráb* has been introduced into the Shemitic languages from the Persian سراب, which they translate "miraculous water." The syllable سر *ser*, however, which is here alleged to be Persian, is pure Arabic, and signifies a "secret, a mystery." The addition of the *Persian* آب *áb* to it is inadmissible. سَرَاب itself is an Arabic word, probably derived from سَرَاب to flow.

In Sanskrit the mirage has a poetical name, मृगतृष *mrigatrish*, or the "thirst of the antelope." In Káthiáwád, and the northern districts of India, it is called चित्र *chitra*, "a picture," or "illusion." The Muhammadan translator of the Kurán into Hindustání does not seem to have been aware of this fact, for he renders it by ریت *ret* "sand."

We dined at the station number Two. As we appropinquated Cairo, the speed of our vehicle did not improve, the horses showing themselves more refractory than ever. In consequence of this circumstance, some of us walked the greater part of the two last stages, always, however, keeping close to the van. I had thus a better opportunity of examining the desert than I should otherwise have had, and of collecting specimens of the different kinds of petrified wood, which are strown over its surface. These fossils became large and numerous when we got abreast of Jebel Mukattem, and to the neighbourhood of what has been improperly called the "petrified forest," of which more hereafter. We came in sight of the valley of Egypt, just as the sun had gone down, and we distinctly saw the pyramids to the south-west. We also, about this time, passed the Indian vans on their way to Suez, with the passengers from England, and numerous camels trotting along with their luggage. In one of the vans I had the pleasure of finding some esteemed friends on their way to Bombay. Of Cairo and its suburbs we could see nothing till we actually reached them. We were met by torch-bearers as we were descending from the level of the desert; and by them we were guided, while we were saluted, if not escorted, by hundreds of loquacious dogs,[1] to the "Great Eastern Hotel" in the interior of the city, then occupied by Messrs. Hill and Company.

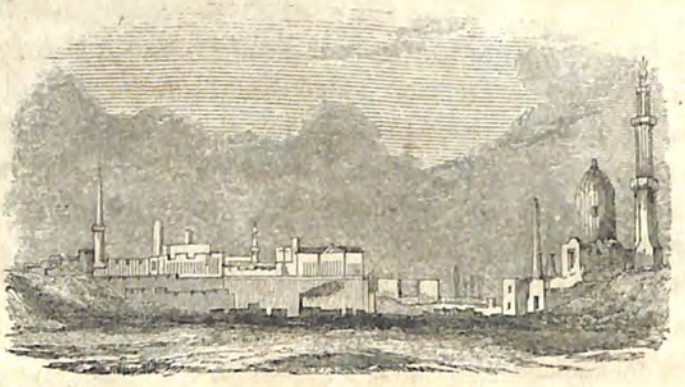
We found a great crowd of persons in the Hotel, including the passengers from India, the gentlemen who had arrived from England by the last steamer, for travel in Egypt, and

[1] The dogs of the East have been immemorially noted for their watchfulness and furious noise at night; and it forms a striking exhibition, as has been remarked, of the peace and quiet of the abodes of the Israelites, on the awful night of the death of the first-born of the Egyptians, when it is said, "There shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more. But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue against man or beast." Exod. xi. 6, 7.

some parties, who had already returned from a voyage up the Nile. Amongst the latter I was more than delighted to find my friend John Smith, Esq. of Bombay, who had preceded me to Egypt by a couple of months, but with whom I had arranged that he should be my fellow-traveller through the desert and Syria. He spoke with great rapture of the exhilarating effects of the climate of Egypt, during the winter months, upon our debilitated countrymen from India, and of the wonders which he had been privileged to see during his late excursion. I was surprised to observe how much his health had improved during the short time we had been separated, and I could scarcely recognize him, from the rapidity with which his facial vegetation had advanced under the indulgence which he had extended to it during his peregrinations. One of his first counsels to some of us was, "Give your razors rest while you sojourn in these parts." We made a trial of his advice, and resorted not again to *barbaric* operations till we arrived in London, the centre of civilization, upwards of eight months after we had become the humble imitators of our then venerable friend. Some may think an allusion to the liberties which we thus took unworthy of a notice in this narrative; but those who have to travel through the burning desert, and encounter its "meridian fervours," have but little inclination to waste their precious time in unfashionable ceremonies, and no disposition to complain of the shelter of their beards, even should they grow to a size—to use an Arabic figure—capable of allowing them to hide themselves behind them. Had we come to Egypt in the days of the Pharaohs, we might have acted otherwise, and in deference to the tyrant custom of the land—certified both by the testimony of historians[1] and the ancient sculptures and pictures remaining to this day—cropped or shaved ourselves, as Joseph did when he went from the dungeon to the presence of the king.[2]

[1] Herodot. ii. 35.

[2] Gen. xli. 14.



Cairo.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CAIRO AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

THOUGH we were much fatigued by our journey across the desert, and the excitement of meeting our friends at Cairo, we slept but little during the first night of our residence in that crowded city. This, I believe, was owing, to a great extent, to the closeness of our apartments in the hotel, so unlike what we had been accustomed to for years in India, where our open windows, or free venetians, permit us to imbibe during the hours of slumber, the fresh, if not cool, air of heaven. When we got astir on the morning of the 22d January, all was bustle and noise around us. Crowds of natives, with Egyptian antiques and curiosities, were watching for us at the doors, or intruding into our apartments, and most importunately pleading for purchases. Donkey-boys with their asinine chargers in hand, were mustered in the court, to tempt us to try the skill and mettle of their really intelligent and nimble little favourites, by a scamper through the endless mazes of the city. Busy hands were engaged in assorting

the baggage which had just arrived from Suez on the back of camels; and each person had to look after his own traps, lest they should go astray, never more to be recovered. Guides and Tarjamáns, *alias* Dragomans, were adding to the confusion of the tongues which they professed to interpret. The Sabbath was wellnigh entirely lost sight of, by some of those who were wont to consider its strict observance both a duty and a privilege.

Our fellow-passengers who had to proceed direct to England, left us about mid-day. They went in the transit-vans or on donkey-back to Bulák, the port of Cairo on the Nile, whence they were to set sail for Atfeh, in a small steamer from which they were to be transferred to a packet-boat, to proceed through the Mahmudíyah canal to Alexandria.[1] As soon as they took their departure, my young Pársí friend and I set out upon the search for the premises of the Church Missionary Society, which we easily found in the Coptic quarter. We were too late, as we feared, for public worship; but we met with a very cordial welcome and kind reception from Mr. and Mrs. Leider, from whom we were glad to hear of the Lord's goodness to them as a family and a mission; and who eagerly inquired after the progress of the cause of the Saviour in the great land from which we had come. Their colleague, Mr. Krusé, was absent in England. At their house we had the pleasure of meeting with Dr. Durbin, an American Methodist clergyman, who was about to enter on the pilgrimage of Mount Sinai and the Holy Land.

On the morning of Monday the 23d of January, the rear-guard of our desert-party arrived in Cairo, having come from Suez, not like ourselves in chariots drawn by horses, but on camels and asses, the more primitive conveyances of the

[1] The passage from Cairo to Atfeh, is usually made in from ten to twelve hours. As the canal boats have now the assistance of a steam tug, they reach Alexandria in a few hours more.

great desert. In this body, were our artist, the Jew Mordecai, his sprightly little boy Abraham, and Major John Fawcett, who not having engaged his passage in the vans before leaving Bombay, and failing to procure one at Suez, had been obliged to separate himself from his lady, who was accommodated with a seat through the courtesy of a brother-officer, who surrendered his own right of preference in her behalf. The delay which had occurred in the desert in the case of our esteemed friend, was the cause of his losing his passage by the first English steamer from Alexandria; but the opportunity afforded him of devoting a few days to the inspection of the "lions" of Cairo was felt to be an ample compensation. Such an opportunity some others of our fellow-passengers from India voluntarily embraced, by choosing the French steamer which was to sail from Alexandria some ten days later than the English one. My own residence in the capital of Egypt extended to fifteen days, which allowed me, accustomed though I was to the East, to observe many new and curious scenes, and to inspect some of the most wonderful memorials of the times of antiquity, which, in defiance of the ruthless hand of man, and of time, the great destroyer, are still to be seen on the banks of the mysterious Nile. As it would serve no good purpose for me to narrate in detail my varied occupations during this fortnight, I shall content myself with a few general notices and descriptions.

I had come on to Cairo, I may state by way of preface, with some specific objects in view. I had wished to complete my preparations for my future journey through the desert and Syria; to learn something of the present condition of the Jews and Christians of Egypt, and the prospects of evangelical missionary effort directed to their instruction; to mark, in connexion with my observation and inquiries, as far as my limited opportunities could permit, the precise nature of the various influences which have lately

been brought to bear on the civil and religious destiny of the country in general; and to indulge, when possible, that natural curiosity, which, in the case of the traveller visiting the land of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and their remarkable, though less noble successors, assumes the strength of an almost uncontrollable passion. I could have much wished that my sojourn in Egypt, and my visits to its important localities, had been greatly more extended than they actually were. That I might have as much of my time as possible at my own disposal, my enterprizing friend, and afterwards most agreeable fellow-traveller, Mr. Smith, kindly agreed to procure all needful provisions for our future journey, merely referring occasionally to me for consultation, and arranging matters with the Rev. Henry Sherlock, A.M., and Messrs. Allen and Parke from England, who were to join our party, and afterwards to add much to its interest, during several hundred miles of the desert portion of our route, where agreeable and profitable companionship is particularly to be desiderated. The letters of introduction which I had brought from the Jews of Bombay, gave me ready access to their brethren in Cairo, and secured from them all the attention and hospitality which I could wish. That I might see as much as possible of the Copts and other Christians of Egypt, and be near the Rev. Mr. Leider, who has so long and faithfully laboured in the cause of their enlightenment, and has a better acquaintance with their habits than any other European in the place, I took lodgings in their own quarter, in a house occupied by Ḥasan Effendi, a teacher of Geology in the Bulák seminary, a most intelligent young man, who was converted from Muhammadanism to Christianity during his visit to Britain, whither he had been sent for his education, and who is married to a respectable English female. At the "Great Eastern Hotel," where I occasionally dined, I met my fellow-pilgrims, and became acquainted with their plans and pro-

ceedings, and daily excursions. I owed much to the kindness of Colonel Barnett, the able representative of Her Britannic Majesty in Egypt, to whom I had been introduced by our Bombay governor, Sir George Arthur; to Mr. Consul Walne, with whom I had the pleasure of corresponding in India, in connexion with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Egyptian Society, of which he was the most active founder; and to Dr. Abbot, the zealous and efficient Secretary of the Egyptian Association. I had the privilege, too, of making the acquaintance of Dr. Richard Lepsius, the head of the commission sent to Egypt by His Prussian Majesty, for the investigation of its antiquities, and of whom, without any disparagement of the illustrious persons who have preceded him in Egyptian research, it may be justly said, that he brings to bear on it an extent and ripeness of scholarship, linguistic and antiquarian, which have not yet been surpassed; of the Rev. Dr. Abeken, one of the Royal Chaplains of Prussia, the associate of Dr. Lepsius, a catholic-minded Christian, deeply interested in the application of Egyptian discovery to the illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, and highly competent by his learning and ability to make this application; of M. Linant, a successful engineer in the service of Muḥammad Ali, and the companion of M. Léon de Laborde during his journey to Petra, to whose experienced eye and hand the sumptuous work of that enterprizing traveller stands not a little indebted; and of M. Prisse, another distinguished Frenchman, whose Oriental Album, in the course of publication, throws so much light on the physiognomy of the different tribes, now inhabiting or visiting the valley of the Nile. I wish that I could have duly improved the advantages which I thus enjoyed.

To the visiter from India there is nothing at first sight very striking in the interior of Cairo, except in so far as the large and dense town itself contrasts with the absolute desolation

and solitude of the desert through which he has just passed. His eye is accustomed to narrow, irregular, and dirty streets, crowded bázárs, lofty minarets, and swelling domes, and to a people of varied hue and romantic costume. Yet he does soon perceive that in Cairo he is not in an Indian city. Its houses he finds higher, larger, of more durable material, more crowded together, and more sombre and shaded, with their over-jutting upper stories, than those of Hindustán. Its bázárs and shops are constructed and fitted up with far more order and taste, and better adaptation to their object, than those in which the Wánís and Borahs dispense their wares. Its men are more substantially and gracefully clothed, but less cleanly in their persons, than those with whom he has been familiar in the farther east. Its women he cannot at all compare with the daughters of India; for by their impenetrable and frightful veils, and shapeless mantles and robes, inflated with and floating on the breeze, their face and form are alike rendered invisible. The distressing grunt and heavy tread of the pálkhí-bearer have given way to the yelling, and poking, and lashing of the donkey-boy. The gáḍís, buggies, and hurly-gigs of all shapes and sizes, such as are seen in Bombay, are so completely wanting, that whole days may pass without his seeing a single wheeled vehicle. The streets, in fact, are so narrow, that most of them do not permit a carriage even of the smallest dimensions to pass along. The courtesy and sycophancy of the multitude have entirely disappeared. Though he is not now insulted on the highways, as before the days of Muḥammad Álí he would not have failed to be, he sees none of that deference shown to him in public which he experiences in India, where the submissive and peaceable Hindú hails him as at once his lord and benefactor.

In visiting any town for the first time, I like always to obtain as soon as possible a general view of its situation and

configuration. Such a view of Cairo is best to be got from its citadel, which stands on an eminence over against Jebel Mukattem, to the south-east of the town. This elevation I several times visited along with my friends ; and we chose it as the spot where the best panoramic drawing could be made by our artist. The *tout-ensemble* of Cairo and its environs, as seen from it, is very striking and imposing. Turning from the bare and barren Mukattem, which is removed from the citadel by a defile of no great breadth, and overlooking Miṣr el-Ȧátíḳ, improperly called Old Cairo, and embracing the view to the south-west, we have the ruddy Nile winding its way through its lovely valley of emerald green, with the Pyramids of Saḳḳárah and Jízah, and the Lybian Desert, in the distance. Turning still farther to the west, we have the city before us in its greatest breadth, with Rodah and the adjoining islands of the Nile, with their rich gardens and orchards. To the north, we have the body of the city in about its greatest length, appearing to advantage from its extent and general picturesqueness, the uniformity of the private dwellings being nearly concealed by the lofty and graceful minarets and domes of the mosks, and other public buildings. And over the city we have a prospect extending as far as to the apex of the Delta. The shape of the city, and the course of its walls, however, cannot here be ascertained, though it is evident that in length it does not lie close along the banks of the river, but strikes away in a north-east direction, keeping near to the desert, and leaving the ground intermediate between it and the Nile free for horticultural purposes. It is to the south-west that the Khalíj, or great canal, leaves the Nile, half way between the town and Miṣr el-Ȧátíḳ. The city altogether appears to be of such extent, that I can easily conceive that its population may amount to 250,000 souls, as, in the lack of a regular census, to which the Musalmáns

greatly object, it has been loosely estimated. The port of Buláḳ is partly seen to the north-west. The celebrated tombs of the Mamlúks are to the south-east of the city, on the borders of the desert. Maṭaríyah, the ancient Heliopolis, lies to the north-east, but at a greater distance from the Nile.

Connected with the citadel itself, there is a good deal that is worthy of notice. Its fortifications lie principally in the direction of the town, which it fully commands, as the castle of Edinburgh does that city. From Jebel Mukattem, it could easily be damaged by artillery; and hence Bonaparte's officers thought of altogether removing that rival height. It is at present in a state scarcely able to withstand a siege. Neither its guns nor their carriages are in the best order. Captain K——, of the Royal Artillery, who had been our fellow-passenger from India, when inspecting them, proceeded thus to pronounce upon them,—"Unserviceable, number one," "unserviceable, number two," "unserviceable, number three," and so forth to the end of the line. They answer the purpose, however, of firing salutes when required, and in an emergency the sagacious lord of the land could have them replaced by other pieces of ordnance, of more destructive power. The Páshá's palace, which occupies a good portion of the platform, and to which admittance is easily procured, is handsomely furnished, partly in the European, and partly in the eastern style. The Ḥaram, or Γυναικών with a small garden adjoining it, is at a little distance from the palace. A commemorative mosk, which his Highness is erecting at great expense, occupies most of the site of what in our books of travel is described as "Joseph's hall."[1] The court within is that in which there is the promise of greatest ornament and taste, the colonnade being of the finest variegated marble. Egypt is the land of kingly

[1] For a representation of this Hall, see Valentia's Travels, vol. iii. p. 374.

monuments ; but with what success the páshá may vie with his predecessors in this erection remains to be seen. His history, taking it all in all, is scarcely less wonderful than that of some of the remarkable heroes and kings of the land in ancient days. He is no common man who could raise himself from the rank of a military lieutenant of three hundred men to that of a viceroy, not so much appointed, as succumbed to, by his sovereign—who has established with his sway the most perfect order, though not without violence and blood, in perhaps the most disorderly country of the world—and who has shown his capacity to found both an African and Asiatic empire of no mean dimensions.[1]

[1] Perhaps the most succinct notice of the life of this remarkable man, and his merits and faults, is from the pen of Dr. Bowring :—"He was born at Cavalla, in Roumelia, in the year 1182 of the Hegira, A. D. 1769. His father was Ibrahim Aga, who was a head of police in his district. In the year 1800, Mahomet Ali came to Egypt, being the second in command of the military contingent furnished by Cavalla, consisting of 300 men, who were called on to resist the French invaders of Egypt. In the almost universal confusion and anarchy, in the discords and intrigues, in the battles and negotiations of the Mamelukes, he exhibited so much of intrepidity, sagacity, and promptitude, as to obtain a paramount influence. After the departure of the French, when the rebellion took place, of which Cairo was the centre, in 1805, when the principal Mameluke sheikhs refused to receive Khourchid Pacha, Mahomet Ali was called to the supreme command, in which he was confirmed by the sultan. The Mameluke beys still held considerable influence in the country, and it is affirmed were plotting against him, when, on the occasion of the investiture of his son Toussoun Pacha as the head of the army destined to march against the Wahabees, in Arabia, on the 11th of March 1811, the Mameluke leaders were assembled in the city of Cairo, and were there massacred, the government of Egypt remaining concentrated in his hands. The Porte confirmed his authority, which rapidly grew towards the south in Nubia, the east in Arabia, and afterwards in Asia. He occupied the Hedjaz and the Nedjid, Dongola, Berber and Kordofan, Candia, and temporarily the Morea. In the last struggle with the Porte, he wrested from the direct authority of his suzerain all the pachalicks of Syria, and advanced as far as Kutayah, in Asia Minor, when he was arrested by the intervention of the cabinets of Europe, and by the landing of the Russian troops. No doubt his military successes have greatly inflamed his ambition ; and his career, so little checked by reverses, has created a confidence in his own undertakings, and a persuasion, to use

Beginning to descend from the summits of the citadel, we passed a good many public offices and establishments, which we did not inspect. Among these are the mint and arsenal, where from six to eight hundred persons are said to be

his own words, that he was born under the star of good fortune. . . . The strong hand of Mahomet Ali removed the hundred oppressors who, in various parts of Egypt, levied their tribute from the people. With their oppressions universal anarchy was associated; but the amount of oppression which any one of them inflicted depended much on his individual character. By the side of a ferocious was often a benevolent bey. The tyranny exercised in one province found a favourable contrast in the better government of another. In the present state of things, order has no doubt succeeded to anarchy; the country is not broken, as it were, into discordant fragments; a centralizing government has united something like a community of feeling; but at the same time the powers of exaction have been immensely increased; protection and security have enabled the cultivators greatly to extend their productions, but have been used at the same time as instruments for enormous fiscal demands. Capital applied to agriculture has wonderfully augmented the harvests; but the result is mainly to be seen in the revenues of the Government, which have been increased to an unexampled extent, not only by extended cultivation, but by the power of collection and exaction, which an improved system of administration has put into the hands of the Government.

"The restlessness which is almost invariably the companion of strong intellect, is prominent in Mahomet Ali's character. His passions and his powers must have a field of action. They have been engaged in surmounting enormous difficulties; yet, notwithstanding his general good fortune, he has been visited by many a severe disaster. The plague has frequently carried away his people by tens of thousands; his revenues have been absorbed over and over again by immense expenditure. Harassing wars have threatened his country with depopulation; yet he overthrew the beys and destroyed the Mamelukes, when they seemed irresistible; he delivered Egypt from its thousand tyrants and robbers; engaged with his master, the sultan, his every step was marked by victory; and his course of triumph was from the south of Palestine to the heart of Anatolia; the holy cities, lost to the caliphate, he reconquered, and has kept them in his possession. A merchant-governor, he has made the country one vast counting-house, and has stocked his own warehouse with cotton, and opium, and indigo, and other valuable articles destined to remote lands, from soils to which of old such produce was almost unknown." Bowring's Report on Egypt, pp. 145, 146.—This was written before the ejection of the Páshá from Syria, and the curtailment of his power on the one hand, and its official recognition on the other, (under nominal subordination to the Sultán,) by the European powers in 1841. Since that year improvement has advanced, and not retrograded, in Egypt.

engaged in the manufacture of military accoutrements.[1] "Joseph's Well," the excavation of which is attributed to Yusef Ṣaláh-Ed-Dín, alias the Saladin of the Crusades, and to his minister, to whom we are indebted for the hall above mentioned, is a remarkable excavation. It is said to be cut through the solid rock, to a depth altogether of 276 feet, its upper part being an oblong pit of 24 feet by 18, to a depth of 146 feet, and its under part, being 15 by 9 feet, to a depth of 130 feet.[2] The citadel, in modern times, is most closely associated with the slaughter of the Mamlúk Beys, to the number of three hundred and fifty, by Muḥammad Álí. The story of their destruction is well known. It is not for me to attempt to say whether it was caused by fear of their capricious and uncontrollable power, or by a revelation of intended treachery directed against Muḥammad Álí himself.[3]

One of the most conspicuous buildings of Cairo seen from the citadel, is the Jámàat Es-Sulṭán Ḥasan, or mosk of the Sulṭán Ḥasan, whose lofty and graceful minaret is there seen to considerable advantage. It stands in the immediate vicinity of the fort, in connexion with which, it should be visited by the traveller. We were permitted to pass its lofty portals, to which there is an ascent by a spacious flight of steps, which ill accords with the contour of the building, and to survey its court and recesses, even though we had on our European dresses. It is said to be the finest mosk in Cairo; but it struck us, that though larger in size, and more impressive in form, than the Jumàah Masjid of

[1] Bowring's Report, p. 43, 56.

[2] These are the measurements given by Lord Valentia, Travels, vol. iii. p. 373.

[3] Dr. Bowring says,—"Mahomet Ali informed me that he made several attempts, before the massacre of the Mamelukes, to induce them to settle in Upper Egypt. Even after he had the proofs of their plotting against his life, (for the correspondence fell into his hands,) he made them an offer of lands, provided they would take themselves away from the capital, which they refused to do." Report on Egypt, p. 145.

Bijápur in India, it falls short of that building in richness and elegance. The interior presents a large open quadrangular court, with recesses on each side, surmounted by majestic arches, that towards Mecca, where the public service is conducted, being the largest. A considerable number of Musalmáns were performing their genuflexions and prostrations, and audibly repeating their prayers, towards the Kibláh, each man for himself, when we looked in upon them, and certainly with considerable decency of outward devotion, which could not, however, lead us to forget the genuine spirit of their religion, by which they are taught to make the most incongruous appeals at once to their own merits and the divine mercy, viewed as altogether dissociated from the divine holiness and justice.

We could get no precise information, I may here observe, respecting the number of mosks in Cairo; but I heard them estimated at two, three, and four hundred. The latter is the number stated by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson; but he mentions, as the casual visiter himself does not fail to notice, that many of them have fallen into a state of decay. The finest and most remarkable of these buildings, exclusive of that already noticed, are the Teilun, founded by Aḥmed ibn Tulun, A. D. 879, about ninety years before any other part of the city was built, on the plan of the Káabah at Mecca, and at an enormous cost;[1] that of the Sulṭán-el-Ḥákem, the fanatical patron of the sect of the Druzes, founded A. D. 1003; the Ázher, the seat of the Muhammadan college of Cairo; the Ḥasanein, dedicated to Ḥasan and Ḥusein, the two sons of Álí, the son-in-law of Muḥammad, and, like some other mosks in various parts of the world, said to contain some relics of these the most admired of Muhammadan saints; the

[1] Abulfed. Annal. Annal. vol. ii. p. 261, 719. Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 230. For detailed accounts of the mosks and tombs of Cairo, the reader is referred to the last-mentioned important work.

Ghoríyah, founded by the Sulṭán Ghorí; the Muwayid, near the Suweilí gate; and the Ḳaláwun, near the bázár of the Khán Khalíl.

The institution known by the name of "Morostan," but more properly the *Bimár-stán*,[1] an hospital for the sick and insane, is at the last mentioned mosk. I did not visit the interior of this establishment; but I was told by those who did, that its debased and furious inmates are kept in a state of utter wretchedness, with perhaps less attention paid to them than to wild beasts in a menagerie. It is Christianity alone which provides hospitals and asylums for the sons of affliction, which are at all worthy of the name. Those of Muhammadanism are at the best but horrid prisons and dungeons; and those of Hinduism and Jainism, as we see exemplified in Bombay, Surat, and other places in the west of India, are for the accommodation of brutes, and not of men. The well-ordered military and civil hospitals of Muḥammad 'Alí in different parts of Egypt, the principal of which are at the Ḳaṣr el-'Ain, near Cairo, and in the Asbakíyah, within the city, are the result of that European influence, to which, with his wonted good sense, he has seen fit to yield, and are thus to be viewed as the indirect fruit of our holy faith. The exertions of Clot Bey, the French physician who is at the head of the medical service of Egypt, in their formation and direction, are deserving of great praise.[2]

[1] "The proper orthography," says Gardiner Wilkinson, "is said to be بيمارستان Bymaristan. The resemblance to the Greek μωρός is remarkable." Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 236. بيمارستان is a Persian word; but it has no connexion with μωρός, foolish, بيمار meaning "sick," and ستان a place. The more common word for an hospital is بيمارخانه *bimárkhánah*.

[2] "The first hospital built by a Muslim was that of Damascus, founded by El-Weleed, the son of Abd El-Melik, in the eighty-eighth year of the flight, A. D. 706-7. The Arabs would deprive St. Ephrem Syrus of the honour of having been the author of the first institution of this kind; one of their historians ascribing it to

Many of the mosks of Cairo, as is the case with most of those already named, are intimately connected with the *tombs* of those whose names they bear ; and, as remarked by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, it may often be doubted whether the tomb has been attached to the mosk, or the mosk to the tomb. The edifices, however, which most resemble mausoleums may be spoken of distinctively as tombs. I found time to visit the different localities in which they are situated, and to inspect the most remarkable of them. Their principal interest, I think, consists in their being viewed simply as historical memorials.

"The Tombs of the Khalífs" are the most familiar to the European ear ; but none of those of the earlier vicars and successors of Muḥammad, the Ommiades and Abbasides, the proper owners of the designation, are to be sought in Egypt ; for though these princes extended their sway to that country, from the capture of Alexandria, A. D. 640, by 'Amra or 'Amer ibn Elâas, the general of the Khalífah 'Umar, their capitals were at Damascus and Baghdád. The first governor of Egypt under the Khalífs of Baghdád who revolted from their authority, and declared his independance, was Aḥmed, the son of Tulun, whose mosk and hospital have already been mentioned. His dynasty lasted from the year of Christ 868 to 906, when the Khalífs succeeded in resuming their authority. Thirty years afterwards, Akshíd the Turk usurped the government,[1] which his dynasty held till its

an early Pharaoh, named Menákiyoosh, another to Hippocrates." Lane's Arabian Nights, vol. i. p. 427, on the authority of Makrizi's Khitat, account of the hospitals.

[1] ["Alakshadi."] "Idem sonabat Akshid inter Farganos (secundum scriptores Arabicos,) ac Cæsar inter Romanos et inter Persas Cosroes. Ille vero Akshid, qui huic Dynastiæ nomen tribuit, fuit Abubecr Ebn Taji ; summam auctoritatem per multos annos tenebat in Ægyptios Syrosque ; mortem obiit A. H. 334, et dominium suum filiis reliquit. Hi vero nomine tantum imperatores erant, omnia enim ad nudum Cafuri Nigritæ (qui servus fuerat Akshadi) revere dirigebantur. E vivis excessit Cafur A. H. 358, et ob ætatem Abidis, Askhati nepotis, pueri undecim annorum, rerum administrationem ex-

power was destroyed by the Fatemites from Western Africa, who, at Ḳeirawán, near Tunis, had been reigning independent of the Khalífs, in succession to the Aglebites. The Egyptian Khalífat, as it has been called, originated with the Fatemites. Màaz, of that race, sent an army under Jawher el Ṣiḳili,[1] or el-Ḳàed, to invade Egypt; and this general, having been successful in his enterprize, founded Káhirah, or Cairo, A. H. 358.[2] Màaz himself removed to the new city, A. H. 360, and made it his capital a couple of years afterwards. The fame of founding the mosk, or college of El-Àzher, is shared partly by him, and partly by his general, El-Ḥákem, whom we have already mentioned as the founder of another mosk, and who was the second in succession to himself.

The tombs of the Eyubite Kurdish dynasty, which followed that of the Fatemites in Egypt, occupied the site of what is now the bázár of the Khán Khalíl. But one of them only, that of the Melek Es-Ṣálah Eyúb, remains to this day. On the death of this "king," his Mamlúks, or white Turkish slaves,[3] conspired together, murdered his son, and in a few years established the Baharite dynasty, the representatives of which claimed the title of Sulṭán. The tomb of the Sulṭán Bibars of this dynasty I do not remember seeing. That of the Sulṭán En-Náser Muḥammad is within the city, near the mosk of his father, Ḳaláwun, and is remarkable for the architecture of its door-way, which approaches the Gothic style.[4] That of the Sulṭán Ḥasan is connected with his mosk, which has been noticed above.

ercebat Hhosan; sed irruente Cauharo, fortuno Fatimitarum, omnia cesserunt et nomen et dominium Akshidorum funditus eversa sunt." Nota J. D. Carlyle in Jemalleddini Annal. p. 3.

[1] جوهر الصقلي Maured Allátafat el-Jemal-ed-Dín, p. 2.

[2] A. D. 968.

[3] مملوك *Mamlúk* possessus; plur. مماليك *Mamálik*.

[4] It "is remarkable for an elegant doorway, with clustered pillars in the

The tombs of the "Circassian or Borgite Mamlúk kings," known to Europeans as "the Tombs of the Khalífs," lie to the east of Cairo, on the borders of the desert, outside the Báb en-Naṣr, or Gate of Help. That of Edh-Dháher Berḳuḳ, the first of this dynasty, from whom it derives its name, and who ruled at the close of the fourteenth century, and that of El-Ashraf Abu-Naṣr Ḳeitbay edh-Dháherí, the nineteenth Sulṭán, are the most remarkable; but, on the whole, they are inferior in architectural elegance and grandeur to the tombs of the Ádel-Sháhí dynasty, at Bíjápur in India.

To the south of the town, and west of Jebel Mukattem, we have another congeries of mausolea, known among the Franks as the "Tombs of the Mamlúks," and devoted principally to the accommodation of the mortal remains of this ignoble, but formidable confederacy. Here are the family sepulchres of the present páshá, Muḥammad Álí. They are all in the same building, which contains two or three apartments, kept remarkably neat, and covered with Persian and Turkish carpets. Rich clothes are thrown over the graves; and Arabic inscriptions, in gilded letters, occupy the slabs or erections which are placed at their heads. A resting-place is here prepared for Muḥammad Álí himself; but it is now supposed by some that he wishes to be interred in the mosk which he is erecting on the platform of the citadel.[1] A tomb of greater antiquity than those of the Mamlúks, that of the Imám esh-Shafáí, a Caraite saint, a founder of a sect, and a contemporary of Saladin, is the most conspicuous object at the place.

The burial-place of the Jews is to the south of the erec-

European or Gothic style, such as might be found in one of our churches, and therefore differing in character from Saracenic architecture. . . . The minaret which stands above this Gothic entrance is remarkable for its lace-like fret-work, which calls to mind the style of the Alhambra, and of the Al Cazar at Seville."—Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 241.

[1] See above, p. 57.

tions now mentioned. It offers little that is worthy of remark. The graves are in general covered with flat stones; but a small dome, in a few instances, is found surmounting a quadrangular wall of five or six feet in height. I copied one or two of the Hebrew inscriptions. They are all very short, and remarkably eulogistic and bombastic. They notice particularly the "beauty and bravery" of the women, and "splendour and perfection" of the men departed.

In connexion with the monuments in which are enshrined the mortal remains of the mighty dead at Cairo, I may mention the abodes of the living great. The palaces of the páshás and grandees are to be found both within and without the city; and, one of them, as we have seen, is within the citadel. They are in every respect better than those of the rájás and sirdárs of the north-west of India, except one or two in Rajputáná; but most of them are inferior to those of the grand Sulṭán and his courtiers at Constantinople. The one which is most deserving of a visit, but principally on account of its site, and the beautiful prospect it affords, is the páshá's palace at Shubrah, about four miles to the north of the city. The ride to it is very pleasant, as the road is good and spacious, leading through a fine avenue of mulberry, acacia, and sycamore trees. The view from the palace, both towards the city and the Nile, is picturesque. The gardens are interesting to the stranger from India, as exhibiting better taste and greater attention to horticulture, though with fewer trees and plants, than we see in the bághs and gulistáns of that country. The most remarkable object within them is a large fountain, with a corresponding tank of water, with a corridor surrounding it, and with rooms finely fitted up with diwáns at its four corners.

Cairo is divided into several distinct quarters according to the religion and primitive country and occupation of its inhabitants. Thus we have the Ḥárt el-Ḳubt, or Coptic quarter, the Ḥárt el-Yehúd, the Jews' quarter, Ḥárt el-Franjí, the

Frank quarter, and so forth. These sections of the town are separated from one another by gates, which are closed at night, but opened by their keepers to unsuspected parties wishing to pass through, which they are allowed to do when carrying a lamp, or willing, on challenge, to assert their belief in the Divine Unity, which is considered equivalent to a declaration on oath of the honesty of their intentions. The lamps are commonly made of thin paper, and so formed as easily to fold up. The quarter in which I lived, as already mentioned, was that of the Copts, which I was accustomed to enter from the Azbakíyah, the finest square in Cairo. This quarter is as respectable in its appearance as those inhabited by the Musalmán population; and many of its houses are very commodious, with an open court within, affording some compensation for the narrowness of the streets without. The families generally live in the upper stories, the under floor being set apart for the family-stores, place of public reception, and culinary conveniences. The rooms are often large, with high ornamented roofs; but poorly furnished, according to our occidental notions.[1] At the extremity are diwáns, in the Turkish style, which supply the want of chairs. The tables used are very small and low, being intended principally for the accommodation of the trays from which meals are taken by the parties squatted around them. The houses in the Jewish quarter, which I had often occasion to visit, agree with those of the Copts in form. They are so densely crowded together, however, that two persons can scarcely conveniently pass one another in the streets, the average width of which I found to be no more than the length of my walking stick. It is a serious matter, as I sometimes found, for two parties, mounted on donkeys, to encounter one another when trying to squeeze

[1] For a particular account of the private houses of the Egyptians, see Lane's Modern Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 1—29.

through these narrow sinuosities. One of them is obliged to take refuge in some door or recess while the other passes. It must be quite depressing to the feelings as well as dangerous to the health, to inhabit such places. Most persons will be disposed to agree with the poet, when he represents the plague, "the fiercest child of Nemesis divine," as springing "from stifled Cairo's filth."

Several of the gateways of Cairo are worth inspection, particularly the Báb el-Fattah, or Gate of Conquest, of which a good representation is given by Niebuhr; the Báb en-Naṣr, or Gate of Help, near the former, in the eastern part of the city; the Báb-es-Suweilí, near its centre; and the gate leading up to the citadel. Some of these gateways could easily be fortified. To some extent, at present, they have military defences, or rather accommodation for the soldiers in charge of them. In many towns in the East such places are devoted to public consultation, and the administration of justice. Hence we have the Persian and Indian *Darbár*, literally the "place of the gate," and the Turkish "Sublime *Porte*," corresponding with the *Court* in which our own forefathers met to discuss public affairs. The "gates of hell" of the Scriptures, in this view, are equivalent to the "court of hell," or the powers of darkness.

The most interesting district of Cairo, all things considered, is that called the Birket Azbakíyah, or Pool of the Azbakíyah, so named from its having been formerly entirely covered with water during the height of the Nile. It is now drained by a canal dug round it, and is laid out mostly in fields and gardens, with thriving trees on their borders, near the canal. Many of the houses contiguous to it are the best in Cairo, and the most pleasantly situated. Among these are one of the Ḥarams of the páshá, the palace of "that monster of cruelty" the late Muḥammad Bey Daftardár, the Hôtel d'Orient, and the house occupied by Napoleon Bonaparte when he was in possession of Cairo.

We were accustomed, occasionally, to emerge from the city at the northern corner of the Azbakíyah, and once or twice I proceeded as far in that direction as Bulák. The site of this town, the port of Cairo on the Nile, was once an island; but the bed of the portion of the river which cut it off from the land on the eastern side is now filled up. The town, a few years ago, was said to contain 5000 inhabitants. Numerous boats and other river craft are found lying near the landing-place.[1] Contiguous to it is the custom-house, through which all goods coming up the Nile to Cairo must pass, paying a considerable per centage as duty. In the town are several of the páshá's factories, such as those for the spinning, weaving, dyeing, and printing of cotton, for weaving wool and dressing cloth, for casting iron and making armour. In Bulák, also, is the Government printing-press, the most creditable index of the Páshá's enlightenment to be seen in Egypt.

I endeavoured, when at Cairo, to procure a set of the publications which have issued from this press. Some of them already cannot be obtained without difficulty; but through the kind exertions of Mr. Lieder, I was enabled to purchase the most important of them, though at prices considerably beyond those at which they originally appeared. The languages in which the different works, about a hun-

[1] "During the occupation of the French, the number of boats engaged from Essouan to Cairo, was only 700, and the number employed below Cairo, on the Rosetta and Damietta branches, was 900. In 1833, the Government alone had 800 boats, and private owners, 2500. But since then the number is greatly augmented. The largest of these boats are only employed in the period of the high inundations, and they convey from Upper Egypt from 1000 to 2000 ardebs of wheat, barley, or pulse. These are called maashes, and are only employed for the conveyance of goods, dahabiehs and cangias are used for passengers. There are about 120 large djerms which navigate between Alexandria and Rosetta, and are also employed in conveying merchandize from Damietta to the other side of the Boghaz, in order to be shipped on vessels lying out at sea. In the summer season these djerms go as far as Cyprus and Syria, but they are frequently lost."—Bowring's Report on Egypt, p. 71.

dred in number, are printed, are Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, the type used, (which is not of the best form,) being the same in them all. Among those in the Arabic, ranks first, an edition, in two volumes, of the Alif Leilah wa Leilah, the Thousand and One Nights, or, The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, which is reckoned the most complete and correct edition of that work,[1] and has had an extensive sale both in Cairo and Damascus. Among the other works of fiction and poetry, are the Gulistán, the Diwán Álí, and the Tales of a Parrot, and a few more of the same class. The celebrated Dictionary entitled the Ḳámús, or Ocean, translated into Turkish, occupies three large volumes folio, and cost me 260 piastres. The Burhán-i-Ḳátiá or Persian Dictionary, translated into Turkish, costs 70 piastres; but I did not procure a copy of this work, as I happen to have one of the original, beautifully lithographed at Bombay. There are several vocabularies and grammars. The historical treatises are devoted to the lives of the Khalífs, an outline of Turkish history, the biography of Sulṭán Suleimán, the Life of Napoleon, and an account of Russia under the Empress Catherine. The scientific works are principally translations from the French, and embrace the different branches of Mathematics, Geography, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, and

[1] "Mr. Lane, in his excellent translation of the Thousand and One Nights, says, "I have taken as my general standard of the original text the Cairo edition lately printed; it being greatly superior to other printed editions, and probably to every manuscript copy. It appears to agree almost exactly with the celebrated MS. of von Hammer, than which, no copy more copious, I believe, exists; and contains all the tales in the old version, excepting those which, as von Hammer says, Galland appears to have taken from other works, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, in the Royal Library of Paris. The manuscript from which it was printed, was carefully collated and corrected by a very learned man, the Sheikh 'Abd Er-Rahmán Es-Safti Esh-Sharkawí, who also superintended the progress of the work through the press."—Preface, p. 16.

Could not Mr. Lane favour the literary world with an edition of this curious work, collated and corrected by himself?

Surgery. There are several Directories for the civil and military, and naval services, and public works, and forms of letters of business and general correspondence. One volume, entitled the Rahlah-Esh-Sheikh Rafâah, contains the travels of the writer to Paris. On the whole, the press has been employed principally in producing works of a useful character, a circumstance which tells much to the credit both of Muḥammad Ali and the Council of Public Instruction, by which it is superintended. It marks, too, the progress of education in Egypt, which, as promoted by a Turkish páshá, is quite remarkable, particularly in connexion with the highest class of schools there, the polytechnic and special, and which I learned from my host Ḥasan Effendi, who is one of the teachers at that of Bulák, occupying what was Ismáil Páshá's palace, are scarcely inferior in their curriculum to the military colleges in England.

The scheme of public instruction in Egypt, I may take this opportunity of mentioning, embraces primary, preparatory, and polytechnic, and special schools. The primary amount to four in Cairo, and one in Alexandria, of 200 pupils each, and forty-five in the provinces of 100 each, making altogether 5500 pupils, who are instructed in reading and writing Arabic, the first rules of arithmetic, and "religious instruction." A suitable set of books has not yet been prepared for them. The preparatory schools are only two, one being at Cairo with 1500, and one at Alexandria with 500 scholars. They receive their pupils from the primary. Their course embraces four years, which are devoted to the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages, Arithmetic, Elementary Algebra, Elementary Geography, Caligraphy, and Lineary Design and Drawing. The polytechnic school receives its pupils from the preparatory schools. Its course is one of three years, and directed to Elementary Geometry, Algebra, Rectilinear and Spherical Trigonometry, Descriptive Geometry, Statics, Analytical Geometry, Differential and Integral

Calculus, Mechanics, Geodesy, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Mineralogy, Architecture, Geology, Construction of Machines, Drawing, Engineering, and Mining. The polytechnic pupils who finish their curriculum satisfactorily, become sub-lieutenants in the army, at the call of the Páshá, and those who are rejected become non-commissioned officers. Among the special schools is one, the object of which is to furnish translators for the different public departments, and monitors for the preparatory schools. The others are respectively devoted to the training of persons for the different branches of the army, and the medical service. The standard of proficiency at all of them is most respectable. The youths attending them are generally selected, when necessary, by conscription, but some of them are volunteers; and they are fed and clothed at the expense of the Government, which thus establishes its demand on their services. A vigilant system of superintendence is maintained, and periodical examinations, at which rewards are distributed, test the attainments, and encourage the application, of the pupils. Though the advancement of the public services of the country, and the maintenance of his own power and influence, are the grand objects which Muḥammad Álí has in view in his support of education, he still deserves great praise for the encouragement which the cause receives at his hands. It must, in many ways, ultimately tell on the elevation of the country, and the advancement of his people. How much it is needed must be apparent from a glance at the indigenous and religious schools of the country. "Independently of the Government schools," says Dr. Bowring, from whose Report on Egypt I have gleaned some of the particulars I have now mentioned, "it is estimated that about 15,000 children are educated in the different religious establishments of the country, and 5000 more in the capital. Instruction is almost confined to reading the Koran, and to writing, which is not universally taught. These schools are almost wholly attached

to the mosques, and the instructors are the Mahomedan priests. Some paternal education is given, and children are often seen in the houses and in the shops learning verses from the Koran. The instruction given by the Doctors of the Law in the religious schools for the formation of the Mahomedan priesthood, is of the most worthless character. It turns principally upon the religious observances required by the Koran, and degenerates into extreme frivolity. Rarely is any lesson of morality given, and the passages of the Koran, which teach the cultivation of the virtues, are much less introduced and commented on than those which bear upon the ceremonials of the Mussulman faith. Inquiries as to the quantity of adulteration which makes water improper for ablution—into the grammatical turn of the language of prayer—into the cases in which the obligations to fast may be modified—into the gestures in adoration most acceptable to Allah—into the comparative sanctity of different localities, and similar points, are the controversies which are deemed of the highest importance, and the settlement of which is supposed to confer a paramount reputation on the Ulema."[1] The schools of the Christian part of the population, I notice in another part of this work.

The grand defect of the system of education pursued by Muḥammad Ali, is a fundamental one, which cannot, however, be expected to be remedied by a Muhammadan ruler. It is the exclusion from his seminaries of that Christian instruction which alone produces that "righteousness" which "exalteth a nation." "It has been well observed," says Colonel Howard Vyse, "that the ancient system of Egyptian superstition survived the repeated conquests to which the country was subject, and at last yielded only to the Christian dispensation; and it may be doubted whether the present

[1] Report on Egypt, p. 137.

degraded and miserable condition of these people can ever be effectually improved, except by the same beneficial influence."[1] The knowledge and belief of Christianity is needed by the Egyptians, as by all other people, for a higher object than that of national reform and advancement. "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," said Christ; "no man cometh unto the Father but by me."

But I must now return from this digression—if such, indeed, it can be called—and ask the reader to accompany me from Cairo to the Pyramids of Jízah, (or Gízah.) This I do, with a view to show what may be seen in a few hours, in connexion with these everlasting wonders of the world, and not with the wish to affect any novelty of description, or even illustration.

On the 31st of January, a party of about a dozen of us held an early muster at the Great Eastern Hotel; and we found ourselves ready for the march, or rather flight, at seven o'clock. We emerged from the city to the west, and the exhilaration of the buoyant spirits among us prevailing over the sobriety of the more sedate, we made a regular donkey race of it over a broad avenue, shaded by trees, and leading, between the city and the river, to Fusṭáṭ and Miṣr-el-'Aatík, or Old Cairo.[2] Here the occurrence of the Nile forced us to

[1] Operations at the Pyramids, vol. i., p. 165.

[2] The word فسطاط *fustát* literally means tent. According to Abulfeda, the town of Fustát was built at a place where an old castle stood called the قصر الشمع or "castle of the candle," erected by 'Arwar ibn El'aás, on his reduction of Egypt under the power of the Khalíf 'Umar. He gave it a name from his encampment at the place. It continued to be the capital of Egypt till Ahmed, the son of Tulun, built Katáya, where the gardens of Cairo now stand. Abulfed. Descript. Ægypt. cum Not. Michaelis, p. 32, &c.

At this place, too, according to Strabo, was the seat of the Egyptian Babylon:—"Etenim ante Heliopolim specula quædam ostenditur, quemadmodum et ante Cnidum: de quibus ille cœlestium corporum motus observabat. Præfectura haec Litopolitana nominatur. Ulterius sursum naviganti est Babylon castellum natura munitum, a Babyloniis quibusdam conditum: qui huc secedentes, eo in loco habitationem a regibus impetrarunt. Nunc in ea collocata

pull up for a few minutes, which we spent in viewing, from the bank, the isle of Rodah, and the Nilometer. We took a small boat for ourselves, and another for our donkeys, into which they were ready to leap without prompting, and got across the river to Jízah in a quarter of an hour. Our business was, as soon as possible, to get out of this village, which is going rapidly to decay. In traversing the valley of the Nile to the west, we were much struck with the richness of the soil, and luxuriance of the crops of trefoil and grain which were in progress. We occasionally crossed a field in the straight line to the Pyramids, which lie about five miles from Jízah; but we not unfrequently went in a zig-zag direction on mounds raised along-side of the trenches and

est una ex tribus legionibus, quæ Ægyptum custodiunt. Ab hoc loco usque ad Nilum, jugum quoddam descendit, per quod aqua rotis, et cochleis a flumine trahitur, CL. hominibus captivis continue, opus facientibus. Hinc pyramides, quæ apud Memphim sunt, in ulteriore regione manifeste apparent, quæ quidem propinquæ sunt." Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. Edit. Lutet. Paris. p. 807.

Diodorus Siculus attributes the origin of the place to captives brought from Babylon by Sesostris:—"De mancipiis autem quidam in Babylonia capti, quod laborum molestias tolerare nequirent, a rege defecisse memorantur. Hi occupato juxta flu-vium castello munito bellum Ægyptiis facessentes, agrum vicinum populabantur. Sed impunitate tandem concessa, locum habitatione dilectum patriæ nomine Babylonum vocarunt." He also refers to other accounts. "Nec me fugit, diversis de urbibus istis, a Ctesia Cnidio referri, dum ait: Quosdam ex illorum numero, qui cum Semiramide quondam in Ægyptum transierunt, urbes a se conditas patriis nominibus indigitasse. At certam horum veritatem exponere non facile est." Wessel. Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. i. p. 66.

Josephus attributes the building of the town to Cambyses. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. cap. xv.

The Copts believe, on the authority of their ecclesiastical histories and traditions, that this Babylon was the place from which the apostle Peter wrote his first epistle. 1 Pet. v. 13. Wesseling concurs in this opinion. "Liquido mihi ostendisse visus est Joan. Pearsonius Dissert. de Succession. Rom. Pont. c. 8." Nota ad Anton. Itin. sub voce Babylonia.—The position of the town is correctly stated in this ancient itinerary.

There are some antiquities at Fustát worth inspecting. The most important of these is a Greek inscription, of the time of Diocletian. The old granaries, ascribed in many books of travel to Joseph—though probably of Arabian architecture—no longer exist.

canals which are made for the purpose of irrigation. During the inundation of the Nile, the road is much more deflected, extending to nearly ten miles. A few wretched mud villages, slightly raised above the level of the valley, and principally on the side nearest to the desert, were the only human habitations which we passed. Many of the Felláḥín rushed out from one of them called El-Kafr, offering their assistance to us in the ascent of the Pyramids; and without any engagement on our part, but with a good deal of altercation in their own body, they assorted themselves with us, in pairs and triplets for each individual. We made light, at first, of their arrangements; but our necessities afterwards compelled us to confirm them.

Any inclination among us to moralize, on our approach to the most wonderful memorials of the ancient world, was overborne by the eagerness of some of our party to reach the top of the great pyramid, the ascent of which they commenced at the north-east corner, where it is easiest, the moment they reached its base. Owing to the state of my health, I despaired of being able to perform this feat; and I remained below, with my friend and fellow-passenger Captain John Thomson, determined as I then was, after making an inspection of the ground-plan of the great necropolis, to confine my efforts to the examination of its interior.

The site of the pyramids is on the very edge of the desert, on a rising ground faced by numerous excavated tombs, about 127 feet above the present level of the Nile. The great pyramid, that of Cheops, is the most northern of the series. The second lies to the southwest of it, on a somewhat higher ground; and the third is in the same direction, on ground still a little higher.[1] At the south corner of the

[1] The base of the second is above the base of the great pyramid 32 feet 2 inches. The base of the third is above the base of the great pyramid 41 feet 7 inches.

first are three of the smaller pyramids, one of which is ascribed by Herodotus to the daughter of Cheops; and to the south-west corner of the third, are other three similar fabrics. There is the site of a temple to the east of the second pyramid. Ranges of tombs, most of which are covered with sand and the debris of nummulite rock and rubbish, run parallel to the pyramids from north to south, occupying almost the whole of the platform on which erections do not appear. Near the margin of the rock, overlooking the valley of the Nile, stands the Sphinx, on a line with the southern edge of the second pyramid. Campbell's tomb, which is now accessible, is near the Sphinx.[1] The necropolis, viewed as a whole, presents a good deal of regularity of design, a circumstance worthy of notice, as it appears from the inscriptions on the tombs, that it must have been used, not only by its projectors, but by their successors for thousands of years.

The great pyramid, like all the others, has its entrance to the north of the fabric, about sixteen ranges from the base, up to which height it is nearly covered by rubbish. The architecture is peculiar. There are on each side of the mouth of the entrance two tiers of stone, not placed horizontally, like those forming the slope of the pyramid, but inclining according to the angle of the passage leading to the interior. Crossing them above is an enormously large block, lying with the same inclination inwards. Above this is a smaller block, surmounted by two angular arches, the oldest, probably, in the world, formed by two large blocks resting against each other, and intended to support the pressure above. The breadth of the passage,

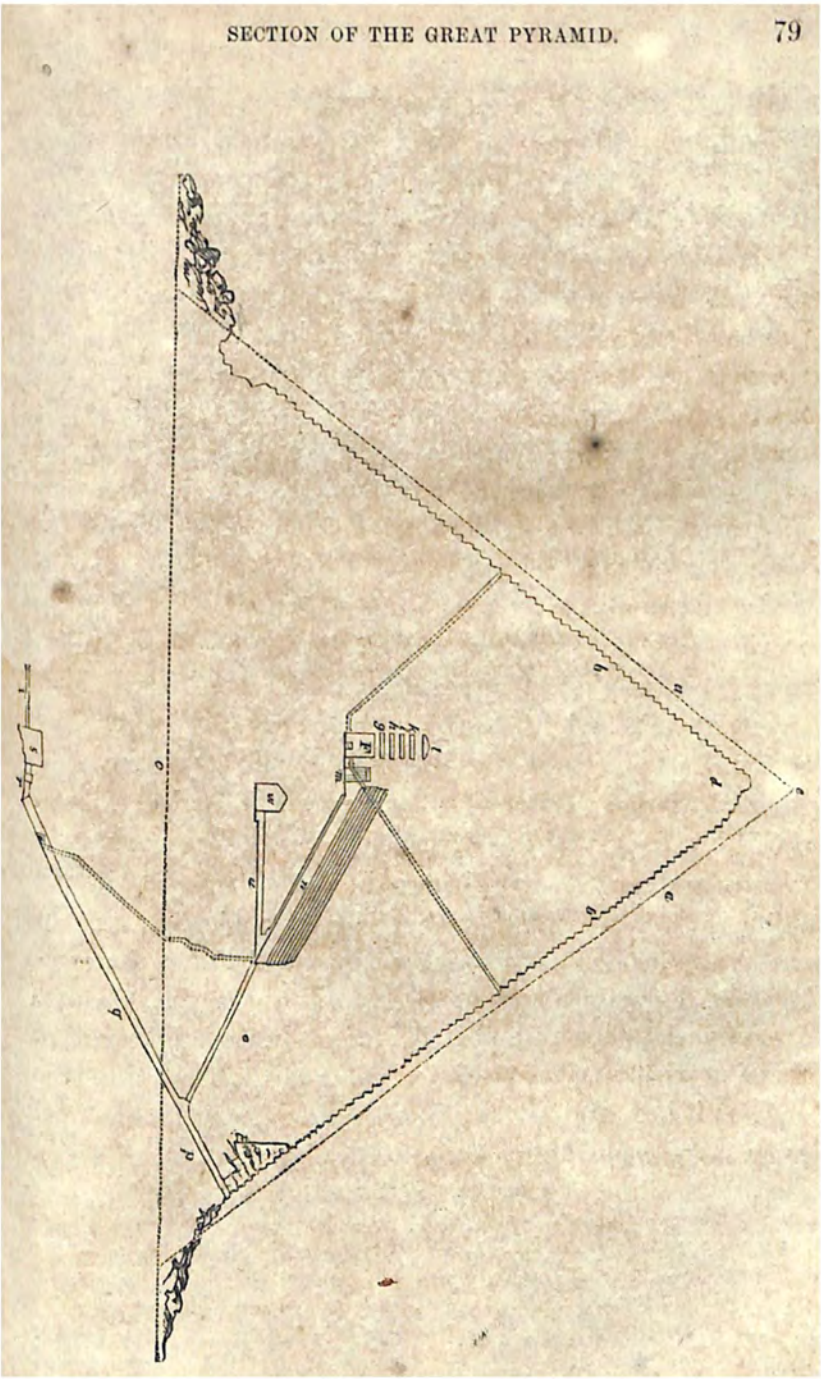
[1] This remarkable excavation, of the time of Psammitichus, is particularly described in the appendix to the second volume of Colonel Vyse's most interesting work on the pyramids. It consists of a large deep square pit cut out of the rock, and surrounded by a trench, and contains a coffin of black basalt, covered with another stone case, or sarcophagus.

according to Colonel Howard Vyse, whose accurate measurements I follow throughout, is 3 feet 5½ inches, and the height 3 feet 11 inches. From a large model of the pyramid, made of its own material, which I procured from Mr. Raven, who assisted Colonel Howard Vyse in his well-known operations, and from a sketch and description in the Colonel's interesting work, the accompanying vertical section from north to south, through the passages and chambers, with the various measurements of Colonel Vyse, marked below,[1] has been rudely executed. I ask the reader to glance at it before leaving with me the light of day.

[1] *a* Former height, inclined line of original casing, 611 feet.
*b* Present height inclined, 568 feet 3 inches.
*c* Former base, 746 feet.
*d c* Present height, perpendicular, 450 feet 9 inches.
*e c* Former height, perpendicular, 480 feet 9 inches.
F King's Chamber.
*g* Davison's Chamber.
*h* Wellington's Chamber.
*i* Nelson's Chamber.
*k* Lady Arbuthnot's Chamber.
*l* Colonel Campbell's Chamber.
*m* Portcullis, 12 feet 5 inches in height, where slabs of granite shut up the chamber.
*n* Great passage, 150 feet 10 inches in length.
*o* Ascent to great passage, 124 feet 4 inches in length.
*p q* Total length of inclined passage, 230 feet 10 inches.
*r* Horizontal passage to the Subterrain.
*s* Subterrain, height 11 feet 6 inches, breadth, E. and W., 46 feet, N. and S., 27 feet 1 inch.
*t* Passage in advance of the subterrain.
*a c* Angle of casing stones, 51° 50′.

*The area of the present base is* 12 *acres*, 3 *r.* 3 *p.*

*Supposing the rock to average* 8 *feet over the extent of base, and deducting the space occupied by chambers and passages, the original quantity of masonry would be* 89,028,000 *cubic feet! The present quantity is* 82,110,000 *cubic feet, or* 6,848,000 *tons, or* 6,316,000 *tons, the space occupied by chambers and passages being only* 56,000 *cubic feet, or* $\frac{1}{1\,5\,9\,6}$ *of the whole.*



Under the guidance of two or three of the Felláḥín, carrying wax candles before and behind us, we made our entrance, sliding and creeping along the descending passage on all fours till, about 63 feet in advance, we came to a large irregular mass of granite blocking up the way at the place where it unites with the ascending passage. As we did not choose to proceed to the subterrain below the pyramid, we surmounted this block, creeping round it and over it, by a forced passage and very difficult steps, which required the assistance of the Arabs. We then commenced the ascent by an angle equal to that by which we had descended. After an advance of 124 feet 4 inches, we went horizontally along to the Queen's Chamber,[1] with a glance of which we were satisfied. Then returning, we commenced the ascent of the great passage to the King's Chamber, which we were most anxious to see. It is 19 feet 1 inch high, and 34 feet 3 inches long from E. to W., and 17 feet 1 inch broad from N. to S. The sarcophagus which it contains is of a red granite, closely resembling that of Peterhead wrought at Aberdeen, about six inches thick, and just of sufficient size to accommodate a man of ordinary stature, being six feet and a half in the inside.[2] This trough is a plain and unornamented fixture in the floor; but it must have been introduced after the erection of the pyramid was completed. It lies north and south. It contains no cover; and if it ever was filled by the mortal remains of the personage for whom it was constructed, it is now, as it has always been, from the time it was first noticed by authors, completely empty. Then,

"Let not a monument give you or me hopes,
Since not a pinch of dust remains of Cheops."

[1] Colonel Vyse's measurements are the following:—Extreme height of roof, 20 feet 3 inches; height to commencement of roof, 14 feet 9 inches; length (E. and W.) 18 feet 9 inches; breadth (N. and S.) 17 feet.

[2] The other measurements of the sarcophagus are, *length* outside, 7 feet 6½ inches; *breadth* outside, 3 feet 3 inches, inside, 2 feet 2½ inches; *height* outside, 3 feet 5 inches, inside, 2 feet 10½ inches.

It is a remarkable fact, as has been frequently pointed out, that it is not placed in the middle of the chamber, but two-thirds to the westward of the room.[1] It sounds like a bell when struck. It is cut smooth on the surface, but it has sustained considerable injury in its upper edges from the depredations of visiters. Some gentlemen who entered the chamber before we left it, attempted to procure a fragment of it, to satisfy their licentious curiosity; but owing to the hardness of the stone, they were not able to carry away with them a piece larger than a pea. On my deploring this vandalism to one of the officials of Muḥammad Álí, he told me that the Páshá had, a few years ago, decapitated a Felláḥ for making a fracture in it, and presented me, as a token of his approbation of my forbearance, with the piece thus broken off, weighing two or three ounces.[2] The whole chamber is lined with polished pieces of granite, of enormous size, which have suffered no decay, during the four thousand years which have elapsed since their construction.

The chambers denominated Davison's, Wellington's, Nelson's, Lady Arbuthnot's, and Colonel Campbell's, which, in

[1] Speaking of the Pyramids in general, Colonel Vyse says, "The sarcophagi, which have been discovered, have been placed north and south, to the westward of the entrances, and not exactly in the centre of that side of the chamber, near which they have been deposited. Some doubts may exist, however, as to the original position of those in the Third and Fourth Pyramids."—Vyse on the Pyramids, vol. ii. pp. 103, 104.

[2] "Dr. Clarke states, that 'this beautiful relic was entire when our troops were landed in Egypt,' and mentions that it had been reverenced and left untouched by all people and nations, till it was broken by the English soldiers and sailors. Now, it is stated by M. Palerme, who travelled in 1581, that he brought away a piece of it as a relic,—'de la pierre de laquelle nous emportâmes un morceau par curiosité.' M. Thevenot, who travelled in 1655, also mentions that pieces had been broken off with hammers to be made into seals,—'pour en faire de cachets;' and Mr. Melton, who travelled in 1661, mentions that he took with him a hammer for the express purpose of breaking off a piece of it; but that he did not succeed in doing so, owing to the hardness of the stone."—Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh. By Colonel Howard Vyse, vol. ii. p. 283. He will be an unblushing traveller, indeed, who will now record his depredations on this most interesting memorial of antiquity.

succession, are directly above that of the King, are designed merely to lighten the pressure upon that apartment, for the security and protection of which the whole pyramid seems to have been formed. The first of them was examined by Mr. Davison, the English Consul at Algiers, in 1763 ; but there is reason to believe that he had been informed of its existence by M. Maynard, a French merchant. Wellington's chamber was discovered by Colonel Howard Vyse, on the 30th March ; Nelson's, on the 25th April ; Lady Arbuthnot's, on the 6th May ; and Colonel Campbell's, on the 27th May, 1837. Colonel Vyse displayed his gallantry by dedicating one of those chambers to an individual of the gentle sex. The excellent Lady A——, in company with her husband Sir Robert, en route to Bombay, visited the Colonel at the time that he first opened the room which is now known by her name. The most interesting circumstance connected with these upper chambers was the discovery of original quarry-marks upon the stones, proving the existence of hieroglyphics at the time of the erection of the pyramids, and containing the cartouche of *Shofo* or *Suphis*, corresponding with Cheops, to whom the erection of the pyramid is attributed by Herodotus. Into these apartments we did not attempt to enter, as the ascent is very difficult, and we had no rope-ladder. Indeed, we had no wish unnecessarily to prolong our visit to the singular dungeon to which we had penetrated. The interior of the pyramid, however suitable as a home for the dead, is, from the want of ventilation and the consumption of air by the needful lights, any thing but a comfortable sanctuary for the living. We were glad to emerge from it after we had satisfied our curiosity with the king's chamber. Our guides, when they got us to the large block obstructing the upper passage, where it is joined by the incline leading from the entrance, to which I have already alluded, seated us on a very uncomfortable part of the mass, and gravely told

us that this was the spot where they generally settled their accounts for bakshish! We could not but admire the roguish ingenuity with which it had been selected. When I informed them that Dhanjibhái, my purse-bearer, had gone to the top of the pyramid, they tried to extort from us a promise that we should give them a couple of dollars, on the condition of their bringing us through all the perils of the way in safety. We proved inexorable; and either worn out by our firmness, or apprehensive that we might complain of them, they again lent us their services.

As at this time I was an invalid, I was obliged to take a rest at the entrance of the pyramid before I was able to proceed to view its compeers. One of the artists of Dr. Lepsius's party, we found painting a new hieroglyphic inscription upon the stones above the entrance, a copy of which was afterwards read to me at Cairo. It commemorates the celebration, on the top of the pyramid, of the King of Prussia's birthday by the Doctor and his companions. Whatever may be thought of the taste in which this bedaubery originated, more especially as associated with the name of one of the first of Egyptian antiquarians, and his generous regal patron, I have no hesitation in saying, that were all gentlemen obliged to produce appropriate and intelligible hieroglyphics, according to the ancient form, and style, and language, as in this instance, when they scribble on the monuments of Egypt, we should have but seldom occasion to complain of their officiousness.

Passing the north-western corner of the great pyramid, and joined by some of our companions who had ascended to the top, we went along its western side to the second pyramid, that of Chephren, which our guides named "Belzoni," from the discovery of its entrances by this gentleman in 1816. The casing, still found occupying more than a fourth part of the pyramid from the top downwards,

renders the ascent extremely difficult. An Arab who was with us offered to mount to the top and to return in a few minutes for six piastres; and we readily struck the bargain. He was at his journey's end in less than five minutes, and after saluting us with three cheers from his high elevation, he was with us before other five minutes had expired, to demand his hire. Very few Europeans ever think of going up this pyramid. My friend Lieut. D. C. Campbell, of the Indian Navy, performed the achievement in the spring of 1836, in company with an English traveller, Mr. Faber. On that occasion he received no assistance from the Arabs; and he found the ascent very difficult owing to the loose rubbish on the steps on the lower part, and the projection and slippery surface of the part of the casing which still remains. The joints of the casing, according to the account given by him to Colonel Howard Vyse, are horizontal; and the projecting angles of the stones, which are not of a very large size, had been finished down from the top. "The western side was the highest; and a large stone on the apex had been displaced, possibly by lightning, but more probably by human violence. The platform was about nine feet square."[1] The apex of the pyramid, when viewed from below, appears nearly as if terminated in a point. Quantities of red granite, originally forming part of the lower ranges of this pyramid, are scattered along its base. We examined the upper entrance; but we did not go into the interior. This pyramid, in point of dimensions, is not much inferior to that of Cheops. Its original perpendicular height was 454 feet 3 inches; and its present perpendicular height is only 6 feet 9 inches less. The line of its former base is 707 feet 9 inches, and that of its present base 17 feet smaller.

With the external view of the third pyramid, we were also

[1] Vyse's Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. i. p. 174.

contented, without aspiring to penetrate into its interior. Blocks of granite are found lying at its base. In this pyramid, was discovered by Colonel Howard Vyse, the lid of the coffin of Mycerinus, (*Men-kah-re*, hieroglyphically,) whose name the pyramid has borne since the days of Herodotus.[1] The body found in the stone sarcophagus was not enveloped in linen or cotton, as observed previous to the researches of Colonel Vyse, but in woollen cloth. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson thinks that it may have been apocryphal, and deposited there in later ages. Running east of the site of the temple, and on the east of this pyramid are the remains of an inclined causeway.

In the neighbourhood of Colonel Campbell's tomb, we found several sepulchres opened by Dr. Lepsius's party. When we were there the body of a child was exhumed from one of them. The coffin had upon it the cartouche of *Psamatik* or Psammitichus. I carried part of its contents with me to Cairo, and afterwards to England, without attributing any great importance to their possession.

Owing to the researches of Dr. Lepsius in removing the sand from the lower part of the sphinx, we had a better view of this enormous idol than is generally obtained. The face is that of a male, now wanting the beard, which was formerly pendant from its chin. Much has been said of the sweetness and placidity of the countenance, from the days of Arrian to those of Lord Lindsay, who, after having changed the *sex* of the figure, writes of it as a smitten lover. "Her attitude bespeaks the calm repose of conscious strength, —her expression of countenance, benevolence—the *tout-ensemble*, strange, mysterious beauty, awful in its stillness. A monster she is, indeed, but not one to tremble at—oh no!

[1] The cartouche of this sovereign was found painted in red on a slab of a chamber of the fourth pyramid, the sarcophagus of which had probably contained the mortal remains of his wife.

you stand before her in awe and reverence, as before the wise but benevolent Simurgh; and oh! if one could but give her a tongue, what histories she would tell, what wisdom reveal to us!"[1] The beard of the monster was discovered in the sand before it, by Colonel Vyse, but the character of the idol is more difficult to discover than its sex. It requires a considerable stretch of imagination now to read its moral or intellectual expression. The corrosive hand of time, and the no less destructive hand of man, have much injured it, and this to a great extent, if we may judge from a comparison of it as it now exists, with pictures of it in our books of travel, within the last century. I acquiesce in the propriety of the designation which is given to it by the Arabs, *Abu'l Hol*, or Father of Terror. It is admitted on all hands to represent the countenance of the Egyptian, or, perhaps, of the Negro race. If of the latter, which I scarcely think is that intended, this form of humanity must have been viewed with more favour by the Cyclopean statuarists of old than by the enlightened members of the proud *leucocracies* of the new world. Pliny is among the first to mention the sphinx: "Beside these (the pyramids) is the sphinx, even more to be wondered at as the rural deity of those residing near it. They suppose that King Amasis is buried in it, and wish it to be understood that it was brought thither. It is made out of the natural stone, and is smooth. The circumference of the head of the monster, across the forehead, is 102 feet; the length is 143 feet, the height from the belly to the crown of the head, 62 feet."[2] The oval of the fourth *Thothmes*, we are informed by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, occurs in the hieroglyphical inscription on its breast. It is cut out of the solid rock, a small part of the back, where the rock is defective,

[1] Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. i. p. 84. The lively sketches of this nobleman are, in general, remarkably felicitous and appropriate, and the refined Christian spirit with which he writes, is in the highest degree commendable.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 12.

and the fore-legs, which stretch 50 feet in front, being of hewn stone. Before it there is a paved dromos on which the paws repose.[1]

We now repaired to the tombs in front of the elevation of the rock, to which a stock of provisions had, by arrangement, been sent for us from the Great Eastern Hotel. Such was the keenness of our appetite, after our journey and labours, that we did not permit the discussion of the pyramids, when we were all assembled together, to interfere with the discussion of our viands. After the refreshment which we experienced, I found my exhausted strength returning,

[1] "An altar, three tablets, a lion, and some fragments were discovered there. . . . The altar stands between the two paws; and it is evident, from its position, that sacrifices were performed before the sphinx, and that processions took place along the sacred area, which extended between the fore-legs to the breast, where a sort of sanctuary stood composed of three tablets. One of these of granite, attached to the breast, (the top of which may still be seen above the sand,) formed the end of the sanctuary; and two others, one on the right, the other on the left, of limestone, the two sides. The last have been both removed. At the entrance of the sanctuary two low jambs projected, to form a doorway, in the aperture of which crouched a lion, looking towards the sphinx, and the central tablet. . . . On the granite tablet, King Thothmes IV. is represented offering, on one side, incense, on the other, a libation (of oil or ointment,) to the figure of a sphinx, the representative, no doubt, of the colossal one above, with the beard and other attributes of a god. He seems to have the title of Re, (the sun,) in his resting-place, Re-ma-shoi, (Re-m-shoi,) or, perhaps, Horma-shoi, from which, no doubt, he was styled "the sun *Armachis*," in the Greek inscription of Balbillus. . . . Like other deities he is said to grant "power," and "pure life" to the king. . . . Over the upper part of the picture is the winged globe, the emblem of Agathodæmon. The side tablets have similar representations of the king offering to the sphinx, who has the attributes and name of the same deity. The king is Remeses the Great; so that these side walls of the sanctuary were not added till about ninety years after the granite tablet. The deification of the sphinx is singular, because that fanciful animal is always found to be an emblematical representation of the king, the union of intellect and physical force; and is of common occurrence in that character on the monuments of early and recent Pharaonic periods. But it confirms the remark of Pliny, that it seemed to be the local deity of the people who lived in the neighbourhood."—Wilkinson's Mod. Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. pp. 352, 353.

and I resolved, contrary to my first resolution, to attempt to reach the top of the great pyramid. I received every assistance from three of the Arabs; but from sheer weakness of body, the result of the intermittent fever of India, I had to give up the enterprize when it was well nigh accomplished, and to content myself with a more limited view of the country than I had desired. I tried, however, to make the best of the elevation to which I attained.

The pyramids, it has been said, grow in bulk and magnificence the more they are contemplated. As saith the quaint and witty Sandys, each of them is "too great a morsel for time to devour."[1] But making all due allowance for their marvellous size, the excellence of their gigantic masonry, and the simplicity and regularity of their form, the question of the *cui bono* of their erection, is the first and last to occur. Though they are constructed on mathematical principles, and are placed according to the points of the compass, with their passages declining pretty much according to a line drawn from the polar star at the time of their construction,[2] it is impossible, after all the investigations which have been lately made of them, to imagine them built for geometrical or astronomical purposes, for granaries or treasuries, for temples or hiding-places, according to the strange fancies which have been sometimes formed of them. Huge as they are, they are mere receptacles for the secure accommodation of the dead, and memorials of the oppression of their proud constructors.

"Instead of useful works, like nature great,
Enormous cruel wonders crushed the land,

[1] Sandys's Travels, p. 100.

[2] Sir John Herschell says, "Speaking as in ordinary *parlance*, the passage (into the pyramids) may be said to have pointed at α Draconis at its inferior culmination, at which moment its altitude above the horizon of Gizeh (lat. 30.) would have been 27° 9′—refraction being neglected as too trifling (about 2′) to affect the question." Alpha Draconis was at the date of the pyramid—supposed by Sir John 2133 B.C.—the polar star. —Howard Vyse on the Pyramids, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108.

And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserved,
For one vile carcase perished countless lives."—THOMSON.

The view of Egypt itself on both sides of its parent Nile, the "sovereign of streams," was most interesting. The fresh and living green of its lovely valley, though only a little diversified by occasional clumps of the feathery palm, and a few mud villages, was pleasing and delightful, and its beauty was enhanced by the arid waste of the unmitigated desert, which appeared as much scorched by the curse of Jehovah, as the smiling fields on the banks of the river are enriched by his blessing, and which exhibited nothing, which I could see at least, of

"the tufted isles,
That verdant rise amid the Lybian wild."

Cairo in the distance, seems a suitable capital for this wonderful country; but during the days of Egypt's might that city had no existence. Noph, or Memphis, the head of these regions, and the parent of this necropolis, is "waste and desolate, without an inhabitant."[1]

The "land of ancient kings," beheld from its proudest monuments, cannot but recall the memory of the mighty dead. I am free to confess, however, or rather pleased to declare, that it was associated in my mind more with sacred than with civil writ. And why should it be otherwise? Of all the places foreign to Judea, Egypt holds the most conspicuous place in the volume of inspiration. Abraham, the patriarch of the faithful, and his comely and beloved spouse, flee to it, in order to escape the famine which raged in the land of Canaan. Joseph, in the wonderful providence of God the precursor and saviour of his brethren and parent, enters it as a slave, and rises to the dignity of a prince, presiding over the counsels of its regal courts, and halls of

[1] Jer. xlvi. 19.

judgment, and treasuries of food and money. The family of Jacob, chosen for the conservation of true religion during the awful period of the general apostasy of the world from God, sojourns in it for upwards of two centuries, with an increase of its numbers so wonderful as to render it formidable to a tyrannical sovereign, who, in the devisings of his own wickedness, was induced to attempt its reduction, or extirpation, by the hand of violence and oppression. Moses, the "goodly child," and destined by God to be the deliverer of his kindred from cruel bondage, is found floating on its river in his bulrush cradle, by the daughter of Pharaoh, and reared and instructed by her in "all the wisdom of Egypt." The Lord brings out his people, by a strong hand and an outstretched arm, from the house of bondage, amidst the terrors of his vengeance inflicted on that haughty ruler, of whom, with reference to his all-controlling sovereignty, he has said, "Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth."[1] When Jehovah interdicted the Jews from holding intercommunion with the ungodly Gentiles, Egypt had a partial exemption made in its favour, "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land."[2] Solomon, the most powerful prince of Israel, is married to the daughter of an Egyptian sovereign. Shishak, the first king of Egypt who is mentioned in Scripture by his personal name, carries his arms into Judea, takes Jerusalem, and carries off "the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house," in the reign of Rehoboam.[3] "Zerah the Ethiopian," who, with his army of

[1] Rom. ix. 17.

[2] Deut. xxiii. 7.

[3] 1 Kings, xiv. 25—27; 2 Chron. xii. 1—10. Perhaps the most interesting discovery in Egyptian antiquities is that by Champollion in one of the palaces of Karnak, at Thebes, of the Egyptian name of this prince,

"a thousand thousand and three hundred chariots," was smitten by the Lord before Asa and before Judah,[1] is recognized both chronologically and nominally in Osorthon, or Osorkon I. The name of "Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia," mentioned in the second book of Kings and by Isaiah,[2] is discovered on one of the Egyptian temples in the form of Tehrak.[3] "Necho, King of Egypt," who by his archers overthrew Josiah in the valley of Megiddo,[4] and put Jehoahaz in bonds at Riblah, is not overlooked by profane chronologists and historians.[5] Several of the latter Pharaohs become the allies and confederates of the kings of Israel and Judah, as the last mentioned monarch who set Jehoiakim on the throne.[6] Many Hebrews, in the spirit of unbelief and cowardice, flee to Egypt through fear of Nebuchadnezzar, and dwell at Migdol,[7] and at Tahpanes,[8] and at Noph,[9] and in the country of Pathros,[10] where they were visited by the divine indignation, and where those who survived of their number saw the Lord through the instrumentality of the King of Babylon, "kindle a fire in the houses of the gods, and burn them," "break the images of Bethshemes,"[11] and confound their purpose to "burn incense to the queen

(SHeSHoNK,) in a cartouche, or hieroglyphic oval, and of a figure representing an Asiatic prisoner, with his hands bound behind his back, with the inscription in his oval of JUDaH MELeK Kah, "King of the country of Judah."—Champollion, Tab. 76, (German translation.) Gliddon's Ancient Egypt, p. 9.

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13.

[2] 2 Kings, xix. 9. Is. 37—9.

[3] Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 140, &c.

[4] 2 Kings, xxiii. 29, 33; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22, 36.

[5] Manetho, &c., in Cory's Fragments, p. 128; Herod. lib. ii. 158, 159; iv. 42.

[6] 2 Kings, xxiii. 34; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4.

[7] Magdala. For Egyptian form, see above, p. 45.

[8] Rendered Τάφνη by the Septuagint, derived from the Egyptian goddess TAPHNET, or Daphne. It was a town near Pelusium.

[9] This is omitted in some copies of the Septuagint (Jer. li. (44) 1.) In others Memphis is given as its right substitute.

[10] II-ET-PHO, in Egyptian, "the southern region."

[11] 'Ain esh Shems, or Heliopolis. Vid. infra, p. 95.

of heaven."[1] The child Jesus himself is conducted to Egypt by Joseph and Mary, and finds a refuge there from the murderous hate of Herod, who sought to destroy him. Egypt is frequently the theme of prophetical discourse, and to the present day its political and natural changes, and lengthened depression and degradation, have most strictly accorded with the declarations of the inspired seers. The whole monumental wonders and antiquities of the land, seem to have been preserved as if for the express purpose of evincing the authenticity and illustrating the narratives of the Bible, every single allusion of which, either to the circumstances of the country or of the people, is seen to have the minutest consistency with truth—so strikingly so, indeed, as to have attracted the attention of every Egyptian antiquary. Egypt will share in the blessings which are yet in store for all the nations of the earth. The Lord will send it a saviour, and a great one, even greater than Alexander, who is generally supposed by critics to have been primarily before the evangelical prophet, when he announced its recovery from its afflictions and its depressions. He that has smitten it will heal it. The Lord of Hosts shall bless it, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.[2]

The descent of the pyramid I scarcely found less difficult than the ascent. The steps are considerably larger near the bottom than towards the summit. The perpendicular height of the whole fabric, as it now stands, being, according to Colonel Vyse, 450 feet 9 inches, and the courses of stones

[1] Jer. xliii. 44.

[2] See Isaiah, xix. apud fin. Even granting that Alexander the Great was the person here primarily alluded to as the saviour of the country, there is nothing incompatible with the nature of the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, and the mode of prophetical announcement not unfrequently adopted, in Isaiah embracing also the ultimate and permanent exaltation of the country, through whatever instrumentality it may be effected. His language, it is to be observed, is peculiarly strong and emphatic.

or steps being 207 in number, the average height of the steps must be only about 2 feet $2\frac{5}{7}$ inches.

The day was now far advanced, and our return to Cairo became our main concern. After collecting specimens of the nummulite rock near the pyramids, and purchasing a few scarabæi and other antiquities from the Arabs who had been our guides, we proceeded, before taking our leave of them, to remunerate them for their services. They disagreed among themselves about the best method of sharing the spoil, even although we had taken the liberty of apportioning it ourselves, allotting to each person eleven piastres, a sum which they can seldom earn in two or three days; and a couple of them determined on fighting a duel, in order to a mutual adjustment. In a moment they stripped themselves to the skin, wisely determined that their tattered garments at least should suffer no injury by their encounter. When they stood before us, in a state of nudity, we were struck with the muscular strength which they displayed, which was the more remarkable, as they were certainly below the middle stature,—and reminded by it of the full-fed inhabitants of the ancient Nile, the Egyptians "great in flesh."[1] Though incensed to an extreme degree, they smote one another in the eastern style, only with the palms of their hands.[2] A smart application of the *Kurbáj*, or whip of rhinoceros hide, to their bare shoulders by one of our number, who assumed magisterial powers for the time being, speedily brought them to their senses, and reduced them to order. We had a tiresome ride home, owing to the fatigues of the day; and it was dark long before we reached Cairo.

One of my first engagements, when we got to the end of our journey, was the perusal of the account of the pyramids given by old Herodotus. When read after a personal visit

[1] Ezek. xvi. 26.

[2] "The servants did strike him with the palms of their hands." (ῥαπισμασιν αὐτον ἔβαλλον.) Mark xiv. 65.

to these monstrous and ancient erections, and in the light of the late research of Egyptian antiquaries, it has a peculiar interest. The father of Grecian history, to whom we are indebted for the earliest notices of these wonderful works, describes them on the whole with a sobriety and veracity, which advantageously contrast with what we find in the most sagacious of the Arabian authors.[1]

There is a very easy and pleasant excursion from Cairo, which I much regret I was prevented from making. It is that which extends to the village of Matarîyah and the adjoining site of Heliopolis, lying about seven or eight miles to the south-east of the city. Mr. Smith, Mr. Sherlock, and other friends, visited these places one afternoon, and returned in the evening. The only objects which there attract the attention of the visiter, are an obelisk, erect, but partly imbedded in sand;[2] the mounds forming the remains of the ancient city of the sun, in the centre of which the obelisk stands; the well of Matarîyah, denominated 'Ain Esh-Shems, or the fountain of the sun; a few disfigured fragments of pillars and sphinxes, and the sycamore tree under which Joseph and Mary, with the infant Saviour, are conjectured to have rested during the flight to Egypt. The locality is

[1] Though it has been quoted ten hundred times, I give it a place in the second volume of this work, accompanied by a few simple annotations, in order to suit the possible convenience of a certain class of my readers.

[2] The sculpture on this obelisk is given by Champollion Figeac in his History and Description of Egypt. (Tab. 74.) A good view of it and of the circumjacent scene, extending to Cairo, the range of the Mukattam, and the pyramids, is given by Mr. Bernatz in his *Bilder aus dem Heiligen Lande*.—The faces of the obelisk, according to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, measure at the ground 6 feet 1 inch on the N. and S., and 6 feet 3 inches on the E. and W. It is about 62 feet 4 inches high, above the level of the ground, or 68 feet 2 inches above the base or first pedestal, which itself is 2 feet in height, and 10 feet 4 inches in breadth. The second pedestal is about 19 feet square, but its depth, owing to the water at the bottom, has not been ascertained.—Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 293.

most interesting, both as far as sacred and profane history are concerned. The obelisk is the most ancient extant, and it bears the name of Osirtasen the First, in whose reign Sir Gardiner Wilkinson supposes Joseph came into Egypt. It is dedicated to Phre, or the Sun, from whom the town of Heliopolis derived its name.[1] "A modern town," says Major Rennell, "situated so near to the site of the remains at Matarea, as that the skirts of the two are within a mile and a half of each other, is named *Keliub*; which is no doubt the same name with *Heliopolis*, a little changed. The province is also named *Keliubie* (Kelyubíyah,) and answers to the ancient prefecturate (*nomos*) of Heliopolis; bounded by the Nile and its Pelusiac branch on the west and north."[2] The Septuagint translation of the Scriptures[3] and Josephus[4] identify Heliopolis with the town of On, the daughter of the High Priest of which was married to Joseph, and with the Aven of Ezekiel.[5] The ancient hieroglyphical name of this city was Re-ci, the house or abode of the sun.[6] *'Ain Shems*, reminds us of the Beth-Shemesh, or "house of the sun," of Jeremiah, of which Heliopolis, it is to be observed, is merely the Greek translation, and of which the prophet says, in the name of God, "He shall break also the images of Beth-Shemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire."[7] The word מצבת, here translated "images" in our version, more pro-

[1] The Lateran obelisk at Rome appears, from an engraving made in 1773, in the possession of Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, to contain the cartouche of Thothmes III., in whose reign the exodus of the Israelites is supposed to have taken place. This obelisk, however, is said to have been brought from Thebes. The Flaminian obelisk, at Rome, which was taken by the Emperor Augustus from Heliopolis, is of the time of Amunmai Remeses, or Remeses the Great.

[2] Geography of Herodotus, p. 495.

[3] Gen. xli. 45; Exod. i. 11, in a clause which does not occur in the original Hebrew, &c.

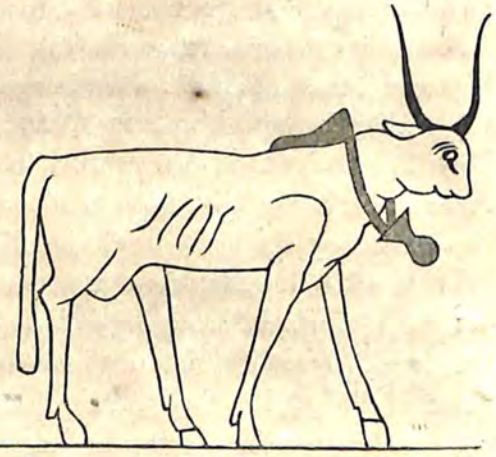
[4] Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. ii. cap. vi. 1, &c.

[5] Ezek. xxx. 17.

[6] Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 296.

[7] Jer. xliii. 13.

perly signifies "pillars" or "columns," and may doubtless apply to the obelisks, and sphinxes, and pillars, as well as to the temple images, of Heliopolis, which were less conspicuous, and which, with all the associated idolatrous erections at the place, have long ago been destroyed, and particularly by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, the Nebuchadnezzar of this part of prophecy.[1] Speaking of the inhabitants of Heliopolis, Herodotus says that they were deemed the "most learned of all the Egyptians."[2] Strabo describes them in similar terms, and speaks of the place as the school of Plato and Eudoxus. He gives in connexion with it a notice of its ancient temple, the destruction of which he expressly attributes to Cambyses.[3] Here, he says was kept the bull Mnevis, nourished and worshipped by the Egyptians as a god, as that named Apis at Memphis. Mnevis, from which, in its youthful form,



the Israelites are supposed to have derived their type of the golden calf, is represented, as on the margin, in an ancient papyrus belonging to Mr. Thomson of Banchory.[4] He-

[1] For an account of the ravages of Cambyses in Egypt, see Herod. lib. iii.

[2] Herod. lib. ii., ap. init.

[3] Strabon. Geograph., lib. xvii.

[4] This papyrus was pointed out to me in Mr. Thomson's interesting Museum, at Banchory House. It appears an extremely valuable one, and is worthy of the laborious study of some accomplished Egyptian antiquarian. Mr. Thomson, in forwarding the drawing from which the above cut is executed, says, "The papyrus is about eleven feet in length. It contains 186 columns of hieroglyphical writing, and a margin along the top an inch and a half in breadth, and extending the whole length, and contains a series of deities, men, altars, figures, and birds.

liopolis continued to be the seat of Egyptian learning till Alexandria took its place under the Ptolemies.

Major Rennell thinks that the original establishment of the Jews in Egypt was in the district of Heliopolis, as the family of Jacob was placed at no great distance from the capital, whether Heliopolis[1] or Memphis, and that the place of the nativity of Moses could not be far distant from the capital, as the king's daughter found him in the course of her walks.[2] He also thinks that if the original settlement of the Jews was in this quarter, it appears natural enough that Onias should select a place for his temple within the same tract.[3] The opinions here expressed bear on the question connected with the exodus of the Israelites, to which I shall ere long have occasion to direct the reader's attention.

Of the proceedings of Onias, the son of Onias the High Priest, after his flight into Egypt from Antiochus, Josephus gives us accounts which are not in all respects harmonious with one another.[4] He represents him as soliciting permission from Ptolemy Philometor to build a temple in imita-

The bull occurs at the end of the whole. It is not Apis, who is always represented black, but Mnevis, who is white or yellow, and in this Papyrus is covered with gilding." Some ancient authors represent Mnevis as black, but Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, "that in the coronation ceremony at Thebes, he appears to be introduced under the name of the *white* bull."—Wilkinson's Anc. Egyptians, Sec. Ser. vol. ii. p. 196. As Mnevis was kept at Heliopolis, he was probably sacred to the sun, as Macrobius, Porphyry, and Ælian suppose, and of a bright colour, in the same way that Apis, said by some to be sacred to the moon, was principally of a dark colour. These sacred bulls of the Egyptians seem to have borne the same relation to the god *Osiris*, that the *Nandi*, or sacred bull of the Hindús bears to their *Ishwara* or *Shiva*. Between *Osiris* and *Ishwara*, there are some striking analogies which might form the subject of curious speculation.

[1] Heliopolis, though a place of great sanctity and importance, was not the capital of Egypt. Judging from the mounds of the wall of circuit, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says its utmost extent was only 3750 feet by 2870.

[2] The isle of Rodah, near Old Cairo, according to tradition, is the locality where the infant Moses was found by the princess.

[3] Geography of Herodotus, pp. 539, 540.

[4] Joseph. Antiq., lib. xii. cap. ix. 7; lib. xiii. cap. iii. 1, &c. De Bell. Jud., lib. i. cap. i. 1; lib. vii. cap. x. 3, 4

tion of that of Jerusalem,—to encourage the settlement of the Jews in Egypt,—at the site of a ruined heathen temple at Leontopolis, in the nomos of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country, Bubastus, and to have actually built such a temple and a fortress in this nomos, "a hundred and eighty furlongs" distant from Memphis. In his letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, begging the permission which was extended to him for the erection which he made, he appeals to the prophecies of Isaiah, in which it is said, there "shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God," and in which, he alleged, there are many other things relating to that place.[1] The prophecy he misapplied, as it was in Jerusalem alone that any sacrificial altar, after the founding of the temple there, was to be erected. It is probable that, in urging his plea with Ptolemy, he directed his attention also to the context of the clause now quoted, in which it is said, "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts: one shall be called the *city of the Sun*, (עיר ה חרס,") or Heliopolis, as given in the margin of our translation, agreeably to the competing authorities, which prefer this reading to עיר ה הרס, the "city of destruction" or "deliverance."[2]

Niebuhr directs attention to some ruins which may be referred to in connexion with this notice:—"At the distance of two German leagues from Heliopolis, to the north-east, are seen great quantities of ruins of some ancient village, which the Arabs now call Tell el-Ihúd, or the tombs (hill) of the Jews. It is incontestable that the land of Goshen formed a part of this district of Egypt. Perhaps it was in this village, and not in Heliopolis, as is commonly believed, that there stood the famous temple of the Jews which Onias built. Possibly some Jewish monuments

[1] Compare passages quoted above from Josephus. Isaiah xix. 19.

[2] Isaiah xix. 18.

may be found in the environs. I did not see these mounds till after my departure from Cairo, and at a distance of two leagues. I was informed that they are near two villages called Schebin and Minet-Demáta."[1]

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson supposes that the site of Onion is marked by high mounds,[2] evidently corresponding, from his account, with those referred to by Niebuhr, in the "cultivated plain near Shibhín," about twelve miles distant from Heliopolis. Another place, called by the same Arabic name of Tell el-Yehúd, to the south of the ruins of Belbeis, twenty-four miles in a direct line from Heliopolis, he supposes to be the vicus Judæorum of the Itinerary of Antoninus. I quite agree with him in opinion. I see no reason for doubting with Dr. Robinson[3] the historical foundation of the name Tell el-Yehúd, which the mounds here referred to bear among both the Jews and Muhammadans of Egypt at the present day. Nor has this able author himself stated any such reason.

When referring to the Jews, I may here observe, that the communities both of the Talmudists and Caraites now resident in Cairo, received me with much kindness and frankness, and readily gave me any information which they had in their power to communicate respecting their past history and present condition.

Neither of them is so well instructed in its own history as might be expected. I learned from them, however, some curious and interesting particulars, to which I refer in my second volume. The Karaim, or Caraites, alone profess to be the descendants of the ancient Jews of Egypt. The most important acquisition which I made from them, was that of a manuscript copy of Rabbi Sáadi Gaon's Arabic translation of the pentateuch in the current Hebrew character—

[1] Voyage en Arabie, &c., tom. i. p. 81.

[2] Modern Egypt and Thebes, pp. 297, 298.

[3] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 37.

bearing the marks of great age, and which some of the Jews of Cairo represented to me as having belonged to the learned rabbi himself.[1] In this remarkable version of the Books of Moses, which,—as far as I have examined it, I have found to be less paraphrastic than Erpenius seems to insinuate,—it is worthy of notice, that the word Goshen in Genesis is rendered by בלד אל-סדיר, in Arabic letters بَلَد السَّدِير *Balad-es-Saddír*, or "the district of Saddír," undoubtedly the *Sethr*um from which the Sethroite nome between Pelusium and Zoan or Tanis, received its name. The land of Goshen, it is obvious, he did not consider to be situated in the Heliopolitan districts, if, indeed, he adverted to the ancient divisions of the country, with which, however, a person of his intelligence and learning may be supposed to have been conversant. I would here mention, that as far as I could learn, the Jews of Cairo, in general, hold that the land of Goshen was in the district of Heliopolis. One individual of their number, whose geographical conclusions seemed to rest principally on coincidences of sound, informed me, that he considered *Jizah* and *Goshen* identical.[2] On my objecting to this view, on the ground that we do not read of the Israelites crossing the Nile on their exodus from Egypt, he replied, "True, but there was another Jizah on the Arabian side." Whether or not he

[1] Erpenius, in his epistle dedicatory to the Mauritanian Arabic version of the pentateuch, which he edited (Lugduni Batavorum, 1622) takes this notice of רבינו סעדיה גאון. "Saadias autem Gaon, Judæus undequaque doctissimus, et celeberrimus, omnes veteris Testamenti libros, in gratiam popularium suorum, longe lateque per universum imperium Saracenicum, in Asia Africaque dispersorum, in sermonem olim transfudit Arabicum. Cujus quidem operis partem, quinque scilicet libros Mosis, cum textu Ebraeo, versionibus item Chaldæa Onkelosii, et Persica Jacobi Tawosii, charactere suo jam pridem Constantinopoli excuderunt Judæi. Hanc ego versionem si totam nanciscar, quod ut fiat omnem moveo lapidem, evulgabo etiam eam, typis Arabicis. . . . Saadias longius plerumque a verbis et phrasibus Ebraïcis recedat, et paraphrastem sæpius quam interpretem agat."

[2] The Coptic name of Jizah is said by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson (Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 320) to be THEPCIOI.

knew that Goshen is rendered by the Septuagint Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας,[1] I do not know. A rabbi of considerable learning, whom I had known well in India, maintained that Goshen was in Upper Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and that the Israelites crossed the Red Sea at Kusseir, and journeyed to Mount Sinai, along the coast of Arabia, and round the sea of Akabah! On my showing him on the chart the breadth of the Red Sea at Kusseir, and mentioning that the Israelites could not pass it in a single night, as mentioned in Scripture, he said, "Why, the text, 'the Lord bare them on eagles' wings,' solves all my difficulties." Yes, I said, and your application of it dissolves that other text, "But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left."[2] No person unaccustomed to hold intercourse with the Jews, can have any idea of the extent to which rabbinism conflicts with common sense in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

The question of the position of the land of Goshen will again occur. With one or two notices, principally of a personal character, I conclude this Chapter.

The intercourse which I had with the Coptic Christians of Cairo was greatly facilitated, as I had expected, by the kind attention and assistance of the Rev. J. R. Theophilus Lieder, who had been ably, faithfully, and zealously labouring among them as a missionary for nearly twenty years. I had sincere pleasure, I am bound to acknowledge, in all my intercourse with this devoted servant of the Lord; and I owe him much for the help which I received at his hands. For some notices of the Copts and other sects of Christians in Egypt, and of Mr. and Mrs. Lieder's operations among them, I refer the reader to the part of this work which treats of the Oriental Christians.

[1] Genesis xlvi. 34. [2] Exodus xiv. 29.

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Two institutions have been formed at Cairo for the promotion of the study of the antiquities of Egypt, and the advancement of general research connected with that wonderful country, the "Egyptian Society," and the "Egyptian Association." Both of them did me the unexpected and unsolicited compliment of enrolling my name in the list of their honorary members. The "Society" is the elder institution, and founded principally, I believe, through the able and zealous exertions of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, A. S. Walne, Esq. At the time of my visit to Cairo, M. Linant de Bellefords was its president, and Mr. Page, a respectable English merchant, its secretary. It has already made an excellent collection of works on Egypt, and other countries of the East, amounting altogether to upwards of 500 volumes, to which, through the urbanity of its members, the traveller finds easy access. In token of its regard to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which I was a representative, it invited me to a soirée of its members, at which our Consul General, Colonel Barnett, presided. At this agreeable reunion, I had the pleasure of meeting several of the literati of Britain, France, and Prussia, all feeling and expressing a deep interest in the common object of Egyptian research. The "Association" differs little in the objects it professes to advance from the "Society;" but it is, perhaps, more determined than its elder sister to give the public the benefit of its learned researches, as I was informed by its members. It lately published a respectable volume, containing some interesting papers. M. Prisse, the delineator of Nubia, was its president, and Dr. Abbott, the highly esteemed English medical practitioner of Cairo, its secretary, in 1843. The latter gentleman invited Mr. Smith, Mr. Sherlock, and myself, to a Turkish dinner at his house, at which we met one or two of its members, previous to one of its

meetings. As our reunion turned out a tolerably good imitation of an Othmanli feast, I may be pardoned for mentioning the manner and method of our proceedings. When prepared to despatch the dainties which were provided for us, we squatted ourselves around a small circular table, or rather tray, raised about a foot from the ground. A call was then made to us to hold our hands over a metallic bason, that water might be poured on them by an Ethiopian urchin, begirt to serve us, so that, as we had to dispense with the modern implements of prehension and dissection, and conveyance between the platter common to all and the organs of mastication, we might not offend our own or our neighbour's delicacy by any impurity of finger or fist. We then tucked up our shirts, that all freedom of action might be enjoyed by us in the serious operations in which we were to engage. Literally plunging our hands into the dish as occasion demanded, we partook—sparingly, of course—of eleven kinds of preparations of fowls, flesh, and fish, mixed with rice and other vegetables, and highly seasoned, and following one another in quick succession. The roast meat was served up in small bits, into which it had been cut before it had been applied to the fire; but the poultry and the boiled meats we had to divide with our digits. Our kind host had many interrogatories addressed to him as to the composition of the fare with which we were treated; and his prelections added not a little to the enjoyment of the festival, though they find no parallel among any class of easterns, whose diligent employment of the organs of deglutition entirely prevents their collateral use as organs of speech, and who act the part of the *ferœ naturæ*, rather than that of the *homo sapiens*, at the table. Altogether, I have not felt my curiosity more gratified after a sort, by a meal, than I did on this occasion, since, a few years ago, when my friend Mr. Mitchell of Puná and I were entertained by various viands

served up to us on the leaf of the plaintain, by Chintáman Ráo of Sangalí, one of the Brahmanical princes of the southern Maháráshtra.

To a feast of a character somewhat different from that which I have now noticed, we were on more than one occasion called, at the residence of Dr. Abbott,—the inspection of his valuable collection of Egyptian curiosities. The veritable memorials of the arts and customs of a great and wonderful people there deposited, are most interesting. Many of them would singly form a text for an extended chapter of archæological discussion and illustration. The signet ring of the purest gold, of the priest of Cheops, the founder of the great pyramid, carries us back to upwards of two thousand years before the Christian era. A necklace of Menai, or Menes, the first of Egyptian kings according to Herodotus and Manetho, is probably the oldest article of human manufacture which is now identified. It has much of the form of some of the ornaments worn at present in India, and represented on the figures of its most ancient cave temples. Various other multiformal trinkets of the precious metals,—ear-rings, nose-rings, armlets, anklets, and toelets, serve to show us how the Israelites could borrow from the Egyptians "jewels of silver and jewels of gold." Examples of needles and thread are before us as the implements of the industry of the Egyptian matrons, or perchance,—if the inhabitants of the borders of the Nile had the same prejudices as those of the valley of the Ganges,—of the Egyptian *masters* of the robes; and specimens of "fine linen," and other kinds of cloth of the highest antiquity, bear witness to their skill in the art of dressing flax, and preparing its cloth, for which they are noticed in Scripture. Articles of pottery, both plain and covered with smalto, remind us, by the form of their construction, that "the potter hath power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto

dishonour." The numerous images and drawings of the gods of the Egyptian pantheon, human, superhuman, and infrahuman, remind us of the time when the Egyptians worshipped "every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all idols," or nastinesses (גלולים,)[1]

> "Genii with heads of birds, hawks, ibis, drakes,
> Of lions, foxes, cats, fish, frogs, and snakes,
> Bulls, rams, and monkeys, hippopotami,
> With knife in paw, suspended from the sky;
> Gods germinating men, and men turned gods,
> Seated in honour, with gilt crooks and rods;
> Vast scarabœi, globes by hands upheld
> From chaos springing, mid an endless field
> Of forms grotesque—the sphinx, the crocodile,
> And other reptiles from the slime of Nile."[2]

[1] Ezekiel viii. 10. In this remarkable chapter, the Israelites are represented as imitating the idolatry of the Syrians (v. 5,) the Egyptians (v. 10-12,) the Phœnicians (v. 14,) and the Persians (v. 16.)

[2] Hall's Life of Salt, vol. ii. p. 416.

The Egyptians were the reproach of the Greeks and Latins for the absurdities of their idolatry. Lucian says, "Κρκει γαρ αυτος μεν ο νεως καλλιστος, τε και μεγιστος, λιθοις τοις πολυτελεσιν ησκημενος, και χρυσω και γραφαις διηνθισμενος, ενδον δε ην ζητης τον θεον ή πιθηκος εστιν, ή Ἰβις, ή τραγος, ή αιλουρος." In Egypt, the temple itself is found to be most beautiful and large, built with choice stones, and ornamented with gilding and writing. But if you peep within to see the god, he is a monkey, a crane, a goat, or a cat.—Icon. v. 2, p. 12.

> "Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
> Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
> Pars hæc; illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibim.
> Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
> Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
> Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
> Illic caeruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
> Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam
> Porrum et caepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
> O Sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
> Numina! Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
> Mensa. Nefas illic fœtum jugulare capellae;
> Carnibus humanis vesci licet."
>
> JUVEN. SAT. XV.

Similar passages are abundant. The Greeks and Latins, however, who saw all this folly, made large importations from the Egyptian pantheon, and that, too, without preserving to any great extent, the symbolical meaning of the Egyptian representations.

Badawi of the Aleikat.

## CHAPTER V.

### JOURNEY FROM CAIRO TO THE RED SEA BY THE DERB EL-BASATIN, AND THE "VALLEY OF THE WANDERINGS."

I SHALL not trouble my readers with many petty details connected with the preparations for our journey through the great desert to Horeb, the "Mount of God," and the lands of Esau and Jacob.

With the advice of Mr. Lieder we engaged Maṭeir, the Sheikh of the 'Aleiḳát branch of the Tawarah Arabs—the same tribe, by the way, that furnished a guide to Niebuhr during his wanderings in Arabia Petræa—to act as our conductor to Mount Sinai, and to furnish camels for the conveyance of ourselves, our servants, and our provisions, and

luggage. For each camel he was to receive two hundred and twenty piastres, a sum considerably larger than what he would have demanded of us, had we been able to inform him that we should allow him to take us thither by the shortest route. He was bound over at the English consulate, to serve us faithfully, and to do his best for our safe conveyance, by a document regularly written out, and sealed, and to which he appended his mark—for, in common with all the Badawín of the Mount Sinai peninsula, he was unable to write—but, from what we observed of his character, I believe that, independently of this ceremonial, he would, in every respect, have done us ample justice. Mr. Smith and I purchased a small tent for ourselves and our young Pársí friend Dhanjibháí, for about six pounds, and one for our servants at a somewhat smaller price. Messrs. Sherlock and Allan, too, clubbed together in the matter of their tabernacle; and Mr. Park having no one to pair off with, had a small one provided for himself. As we contemplated being a considerable time in the wilderness, we laid in a stock sufficient, as we thought, to last us for two months, of provisions of bread, biscuits, flour, preserved meats and soups, beer, porter, coffee, tea, wine, potatoes, onions, oranges, dried fruits, and so forth. We were indebted for its selection and purchase to Mr. Smith, whose forethought and economy we had all occasion highly to commend. Doubting our ability to obtain suitable firewood in the barren regions through which we were to pass, we added to our stores four large sacks of charcoal, which formed the burden of two camels. Our supply of water—calculated to last us a fortnight, till we should reach Wádí Feirán, where we could replenish our skins—required four camels for its conveyance.

As those of our number who had come from India, had had an opportunity when proceeding from Suez to Cairo by the usual route of the transit vans, of examining the part of

the desert which lies to the north of the Mukattam hills, we resolved to return to Suez by the route, lying immediately to the south of that range, the Derb el-Basátín. This we were the more inclined to do, from our anxiety to test, as far as we could from personal observation, the theories of those, who, like father Sicard and our friend Mr. Lieder, have expressed their belief, that it must have been by the latter route that the Israelites marched to the Red Sea on the occasion of the exodus. We had no reason subsequently to regret the choice which we had made, as it gave us an opportunity of examining a part of the country but little explored, and of which very indefinite notions are entertained, as well as of enabling us to collect some information necessary to our forming an intelligent opinion of some of the most important questions connected with Bible history and geography, which have been raised both in ancient and modern times. My notes of our progress I give in the form in which they were originally written, that of the simple journal, interspersing, of course, such remarks connected with them, as may have been suggested by subsequent inquiry and research.

Monday, 6th Feb. 1843.—Throughout the day we have been in great bustle and confusion, on account of our preparation for our departure from Cairo. The Sheikh Mateir mustered our camels, upwards of two score in number, in the Asbakíyah, near my lodgings, and directed our attention particularly to those which he had set apart as dromedaries for ourselves. He flattered me by saying, that he had been very considerate in my case, and had allotted to me a very handsome young animal, with sundry gay trappings in the form of head-dress, saddle, and ornamental pendants of rope and tasselry, made of the silken hair of its own grandmother, and requested me to test its docility of spirit and powers of progression before leaving the town. As I had no experience of the pilotship of the "ship of the desert," I was

unwilling to make a demonstration of my awkwardness at a first attempt before the critical Cairenes, and I got a substitute to do the needful for me. On his report I was ready to express my entire satisfaction with the choice which had been made in my behalf. The Sheikh declined at this time to apportion the various articles of our cargo among the different animals, alleging that it is customary to do this outside the city. In the course of the day I visited the Greek monastery, to ask a letter of introduction to the convent of Mount Sinai, of which it is an appendage. This document the monks cheerfully promised to have ready for me when the Sheikh might call; but the worthy son of Ishmael made so light of the matter, even after he had received our orders to go for it, that he neglected to demand it. The lack of it was supplied by another letter of recommendation, which we afterwards received at Suez.

The body of our Ḳafilah left Cairo in the afternoon; but the rear-guard, composed of the travellers from the East and West, was not able to get in motion till late in the evening. We made our first movement on donkeys, preceded by torch-bearers. We emerged from the town at the Báb en-Naṣr, which we were allowed to pass, after giving the watchword of the night, which we had procured for a small consideration from the officers on duty in the course of the day. The last sound which we heard in the capital of Egypt was that of BAKSHISH, the first which salutes the ear of the traveller when he plants his foot on Egyptian soil. It proceeded from the soldiers on guard, as they opened the gate to allow our exit. We hobbled onwards about a mile to the eastward, a little beyond the Ḳeit-bey, the principal tomb of the Circassian Mamlúks, vulgo, "the tombs of the Khalífs,"[1] which we had appointed as the place of our rendezvous, and where

[1] See above, p. 65.

we found our servants ready to receive us. We entered our humble tabernacles with great buoyancy of spirit; and we enjoyed much the shelter which they gave us from the wind, and the snugness of the interior. We had nothing but the sand of the desert for our carpet, and, with one exception, our boxes for our chairs. Our bed-clothes were spread on a *kawâs* of slight wicker work, something in the form of a hen-coop, which we had invented as a substitute for a couch, but which we soon found by no means substantial enough for the roughness of our way. Before retiring to rest, we united, as we did not afterwards fail to do when together, in the social worship of God, reading a portion of his Word, the best companion of the traveller in every land, and commending one another in prayer to the divine protection, in the view of the wilderness journey which was before us.

7th February.—We got astir early in the morning, and had a beautiful view of the citadel of Cairo, and part of the town, and some of the adjoining tombs, a little after sunrise. Mr. O'B. took a slight sketch of a part of the scene, from which a preceding cut is executed.[1] We rapidly despatched our breakfast, and set upon the work of apportioning our loads for the journey. The Sheikh insisted that the burden of each animal should be very small and light, on account of the length and difficulty of the way; and the camels seemed to beg us to assent to his view of the matter, for they roared most mournfully, while the business of loading was proceeding. We found that our party altogether required no fewer than forty-seven camels, one or two of the number having been set apart to carry grain for the rest. We agreed to divide among ourselves the duties of our camp. Mr. Smith was nominated paymaster-general, and bound over to keep a faithful account of all the expenses which we might incur.

[1] See above, p. 50.

Messrs. Sherlock, Allan, and Parke, were appointed to office in the commissariat department, and astricted to take charge of the stores, and to issue them for the public good, according to our daily exigencies. I was asked to act as quarter-master-general and interpreter, and arbitrarily to settle all matters connected with our course, and the time of our marching and halting. Most of us had a single personal Egyptian servant. 'Abdul Fattah, *alias* Deirí, or the Man of the Convent,—so called from his frequent visits to the abodes of the monks,—was attached to my department. He had been formerly in the employment of Colonel Howard Vyse, and obtained decidedly the pre-eminence among our "helps," my experience of him in Cairo having led us to form a high opinion of his fidelity, ability, and application. Mr. Waters, an educated African, who had been our fellow-voyager from Bombay to Suez, as an attendant on the family of Captain Gray, proceeding to England, from whom he had been unfortunately separated in the transit through the desert by the dilatory motions of the animal on which he was riding, was charitably engaged by Mr. Smith. Messrs. Sherlock and Allan enjoyed the assistance of Ibrahím, formerly in the employment of Dr. Robinson of America, and of Drs. Keith and Black, and Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne, during their interesting journeys through the Holy Land. Ḥasanein, a youth of great cheerfulness and good nature, became the right hand man of Mr. Parke. Dhanjibháí the Parsí convert, Mr. O'Brien our artist, Mordecai the Jew, and his little son Abraham, were attachès, on whose assistance we all counted something.

Various little necessaries having been found wanting by us, notwithstanding all our care in our equipment, we sent to Cairo for them before getting in motion. Early in the day, we received communications from several parties in Cairo, including a farewell epistle from our friend Dr. Car-

negy, of the Bombay Establishment. We were also visited by several personages from the city. Among them was the celebrated blind traveller, Mr. Holman, who informed us that he was on his way to *see* what is called the "petrified forest," the principal bed of which lay a little to the south-east of us. The acquaintance of this intelligent gentleman, whose tales of the many lands to which his singular enterprize has carried him, since his bereavement of the powers of vision, I had the pleasure of making at Ḥasan Effendí's, where he lodged, and afterwards renewing, at the shores of the Red Sea, and in Syria. He has a great talent of collecting and condensing information.

Mr. Beresford and Dr. Noyes gave us the convoy for the first hour of our march; and it was not till they were ready to leave us that I made my first essay to mount a camel. Some little attention I found necessary to accomplish this feat. The animal, directed by a peculiar cry from its driver —a strong guttural hiss, which it is difficult to describe, and as difficult to imitate—squats itself upon its belly, with its fore-legs bent under it. The rider, seizing it with his left hand by the mane, or laying hold of the front elevation of the saddle, or frame-work which acts as a substitute, throws his right leg across its back with all possible agility. Retaining his hold, he preserves himself from falling, by making an inclination forward, while it accomplishes the first act of its rising by getting upon its foreknees. The moment that it has achieved this motion, he has to prepare himself for its second effort, its springing upon its hind-legs by a single bound, which he does by laying hold of the other elevation of the saddle, and inclining backward, in order to prevent himself from being precipitated over its head. Its last movement, which restores its forefeet to their use, requires him again to pitch himself forward, still nicely balancing himself by his powers of prehension as well as he can. The

affair of lowering the camel and dismounting is exactly the reverse of that now mentioned. All this is awkward enough to the pure novice, but a little experience makes the matter quite easy.

On leaving our encampment, we turned our faces to the west, and passed through the defile leading between Jebel Mukattam and the citadel of Cairo, which lay to our right hand; and then, rounding the extremity of the Mukattam range, we proceeded southward along the edge of the desert. At the geological formation of this part of the Mukattam, which is rather interesting, we cast a glance as we passed. I had had other opportunities, in my excursions round Cairo, of more particularly examining it. The hill is about 400 feet above the level of the Nile opposite. At its base, we have the under nummulite rock, remarkably compact, and suitable for building. Some argillaceous beds intervene between this and the upper nummulite chalk, which contains great numbers of flat multilocular shells, from an almost invisible size to that of a penny-piece, thoroughly concreted together, and with little injury in general to their original forms. Between this latter deposit and that which crowns the hill—the upper chalk, with flints—there are one or two thin layers of argillaceous lime, of a yellowish and reddish colour, which the people of Cairo turn to some account as an inferior paint. The word Mukattam means "hewn;" and it is applied to the hill on account of the quarrying and cutting to which, for ages, it has been subjected. I have already noticed the fact, that Napoleon Buonaparte's officers proposed its entire removal, in order to give play to the citadel of Cairo, which it easily commands. For what reason their General dissented from their opinion, I do not know. The Mukattam range, of which this elevation is the extremity, is said to be generally of a coarse tertiary limestone. Jebel

Aḥmar, or the red mountain, part of the range running eastward, is of coarse sandstone grit.

As soon as we got to the village of Basátín, which we reached in about three hours, the sheikh expressed his determination to bring our journey for the day to a close. His camels, he said, required to be finally watered before leaving the banks of the Nile; and we were obliged to acquiesce in his desire to halt. While our servants were pitching our tents on a sandy mound to the east of the village, and on the margin of the desert, Dhanjí and I entered the village of the "gardens," for this is the meaning of its name. It is very similar in appearance to one of the *Grâms* of the Dakhan in India, many of the houses being constructed of mud and sun-dried bricks, with flat roofs. The people had an air of activity and determination about them which one seldom sees among the Hindús; but they seemed vastly more dirty than their compeers of the East, who, however poverty-stricken they may be, seldom neglect their daily ablutions. Great numbers of them were suffering from ophthalmia, the consequence, I doubt not, of their neglect of cleanliness. In the valley of the Nile, to the west and south of the village, there was much clover and barley growing. The fields in this locality were not enclosed like those near Cairo, as the inundation still makes war in Egypt, as in the days of old, against ordinary fences. The view before us, across and along the verdant and luxuriant plain of the Nile, was not without its interest; and being but little fatigued, we found ourselves in a capacity to enjoy it. To the south-east of us lay the village of Torah, with the great quarries behind it, the "Troici lapidis Mons," from which so much of the material of the pyramids was of old procured. The whole line of pyramids on the other side of the river, from Lisht to Abu-Rawash, including the groups of Dáshur, Saḳ-

ḳárah, Abusír, Ríjah, and Jízah, was visible. To the south-west of us also, on the other side of the Nile, about eight or ten miles distant from us, were the mounds near Metrahenny,[1] indicating the site of Memphis, the royal city of which the pyramids and the adjoining ranges of tombs were merely the vast and proud necropolis. I much wish that I had been able to visit this remarkable locality. Memphis is the מֹף Moph of Hosea,[2] and the נֹף Noph of Isaiah, Jeremiah,[3] and Ezekiel.[4] Its Scriptural names are evidently derived from those which it bore in the ancient hieroglyphics, *Mam-Phthah*, the "abode of Phthah," the analogue of Vulcan, and *Pa-Nuph* or *Ei-Nuph*, "the place of the good," which Plutarch says, "some interpret the harbour (ὅρμος) of the good, or the sepulchre of (the good god) Osiris."[5] Its Coptic names were ⲙⲉⲙⲫⲓ, *Membe*, ⲙⲉϥⲓ, *Mefi*, ⲙⲉⲙⲫⲓ, *Memphi*, ⲙⲉⲛⲟϥⲣⲉ, *Menophre*, "the land of the pyramid," and ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ, *Panouph*.[6] In Arabic it is called منف *Memf*. It is a city of the very highest antiquity, its origin being attributed to Menes. "He raised," says Herodotus, "a dyke at Memphis; for anciently the river flowed near the sandy hills which skirt Lybia; but he, filling up the river at the turn it makes about a hundred furlongs southward of Memphis, laid the old channel dry, and led the stream midway between the mountains.[7] . . . This Menes, the first of the kings, having drained the ground which he had secluded, founded on the spot the city now called Memphis. Memphis is situated in the narrowest part of Egypt. Without the city he dug a reservoir from the river towards the north and west, for towards the east it was

[1] Or Minyat Rahínah.

[2] Hosh. ix. 6.

[3] Isaiah xix. 13. Jer. ii. 16.

[4] Ezekiel xxx. 13, 16.

[5] Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 369.

[6] Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. ii. Champollion l' Egypte sous les Pharaons, p. 136, &c.

[7] The ferrying of the dead over this stream, represented on many of the Egyptian tombs and funereal papyri, gave rise to the Grecian fable, respecting the entrance of the departed spirits into the shades below. See Diodorus Siculus, i. p. 580.

bounded by the Nile itself. The same monarch reared at Memphis a vast and justly renowned temple of Vulcan, (Pthah."[1]) Memphis continued to be the capital of Lower Egypt throughout many dynasties, though sometimes, as we learn from the monuments, and from the prophet Isaiah, it divided this honour with Zoan or Tanis, the modern Sán.[2]

> "The princes of *Zoan* are become fools,
> The princes of *Noph* are deceived."—Isaiah xix. 13.

It suffered much from the invasion of the Persians, at the time that the bull Apis was slain by Cambyses; but it again revived, and held its pre-eminence till Alexandria began to flourish in so remarkable a manner under the Ptolemies. Its site, which is said by Diodorus to have formed a circuit of 150 stadia[3], or about 15 miles, has now nothing to mark it out but a few mounds, and a colossal statue of Remeses the Great, a small figure of red granite greatly mutilated, and a few foundations. Its ruins were much more extensive in the days of Abulfeda.[4]

An important question arises connected with its history. Was it the capital of Egypt when Joseph entered the country, or when the exodus of the Israelites took place under Moses? Let us see what can be said in favour of its claims to this honour, in contradistinction to those of Zoan or Sán, near the mouth of the Pelusian branch of the Nile. If we fix on the latter place as the residence of the Pharaohs of the first of these times, we seem to overlook, it may be *argued*, some inferences which the Bible apparently suggests. The land of Goshen, the "best of the land," was near to Pharaoh;[5] and it was on the way between the residence of Pharaoh and the road from Canaan to Egypt, for "Joseph," residing at the court of Pha-

[1] Taylor's Translation of Herodotus, pp. 143, 144.
[2] Herod. lib. iii.
[3] Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 32.
[4] Abulfed. Descript. Ægypt. p. 23.
[5] Gen. xlv. 10.

raoh, "made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father to Goshen,"[1] who had been directed thither by Judah, who must have become acquainted with the country on his first visit to Egypt. The caravan route from the Holy Land to Zoan, which would probably be taken by Jacob on his journey to Egypt, if he were proceeding to that city, does not pass through any good agricultural or pastoral country, till it is close upon the districts of Zoan itself. Such a country, suitable to the references made in Scripture to Goshen, is to be found east of the Nile, only to the south-east, south-west, or south of Zoan, and considerably removed from the road from Canaan to Zoan. Goshen consequently must have lain in one or other of those directions; and Joseph to meet his father, it would seem, would have to come from a royal city still further south, and altogether out of the way to Canaan from Zoan. Memphis occurs naturally as his starting point, which has the further advantage in this argument, as being near to On, or Heliopolis, at which Joseph obtained his wife. Father Sicard,[2] and Dr. Shaw,[3] point to Memphis as the residence of Pharaoh at the time of the exodus, from the fact, that he was relieved from the distressing and destructive plague of locusts by a strong west wind, which carried them into the Red Sea, and which could not, they think, be the case had he been living at Zoan, situated in a latitude far to the north of the Red Sea.

Sicard, to whom I have now referred, considers Basátín to have been the Rameses from which the Israelites took their departure on the exodus. In support of his opinion, he pleads what he calls the immemorial tradition of the Jews, and the fact that their cemetery is to this day contiguous to Basátín.[4] This tradition he considers authorized by the names

[1] Gen. xlvi. 29.

[2] Sur le passage des Israélites à travers la mer Rouge *in the* Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, (Mémoires de vevant,) tom. iii. p. 325, &c.

[3] Shaw's Travels, p. 341.

[4] It is to the edge of the desert, near the extremity of the Mukattam range. See above, p. 65.

given by the Arabs to places in the neighbourhood, as that of the "*Mejanat Moussa*, or the place where Moses communicated with God," which he says is on Mount Diouchi, (Jihush?) a continuation of the Mukattam; and "Mera-vad-Moussa, signifying the habitation of Moses,"[1] which he says is near the monastery of Mount Torah. He supposes further that this place was the rendezvous of the Israelites during the conferences of Moses with Pharaoh. Let his opinion receive all due consideration and support. At this place we heard of no traditions pertaining to the venerable Moses. I suspect that Sicard's "Mejanat Moussa" is merely the Arabic موصيع ماجنة *Mawsia' Majanat*, or place frequented by demons; and that his "Mera-vad-Moussa," of which I make nothing, is some similar corruption. There is certainly room, however, in the sandy triangular plain here formed by the Mukattam to the north, and the Torah or the "Troici lapidis Mons" to the south, for the accommodation of the Israelites, even when we suppose that they consisted of 600,000 males beside children, or 2,400,000 in all, as Sicard reckons them.[2] On the edge next to the Nile it extends for two or three miles, and the sides of it run to the east nearly the same distance before they approximate, while it has a border also in the direction in which we have come from Cairo. The Scriptures do not give us data for definitely fixing the site of Rameses. The word Rameses is, in the old Egyptian language, ⲣⲏⲙⲥⲥⲥⲥ, and means the "Son of the Sun." As the name of a province it seems to have been synonymous with Goshen. "Joseph placed his father and his brethren

[1] Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, tom. iii. pp. 327, 328.

[2] "About six hundred thousand on foot that were men [of might] (ה גברים)," or as Josephus speaks of them, στρατευσιμον εχοντες ἡλικιαν, that were of the military age, "besides children, and a mixed multitude," and "flocks and herds," even very much cattle. Exod. xii. 37, 38. Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. ii. cap. 15.

in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh commanded."[1] As a city, it may have been one of the places "built," or fortified, or rebuilt, by the Israelites, in the passage in which it is said, "they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raameses,"[2] for the only difference in the words, in the reading of our Hebrew Bibles, is in a single diacritical point, not essential to the text. The treasure-cities or store-cities were probably erections at the termini or principal stations of the caravan routes, such as are seen at the present day, for the accommodation of merchandise; and Basátín, at the extremity of the routes from the Red Sea to the banks of the Nile opposite Memphis, is a proper situation for such a store-city. The mounds contiguous to it on which we were encamped, and fragments of antique pottery, which we observed, are not equivocal indices of an ancient site in Egypt. Whether the town was in the province bearing the same name, or without it, yet ministering to its convenience, and deriving from it its name, we are not informed. If we suppose, with Major Rennell, Goshen to have been in the districts of Heliopolis,[3] or the apex of the Delta on the east extending as far as Cairo and the neighbourhood, a town at Basátín, would have been close upon its southern point. That Goshen was in the district to which I now refer, supposing Memphis to have been the residence of Pharaoh, is extremely probable, for the rival province of esh-Sharkíyah (the eastern,) to which some point as Goshen, can scarcely be said to be "near" to Pharaoh dwelling at Memphis. The Rameses of the Exodus, too, it must be borne in mind, could not be far from the residence of Pharaoh, again supposing him to be at Memphis; for Moses and Aaron had to confer

[1] Gen. xlvii. 11.

[2] Exod. i. 11.

[3] There is a coincidence between the Egyptian word Rameses "the son of the *Sun*," and the Greek Heliopolis, the "city of the *sun*," which it is perhaps safer simply to notice than to make the ground of any conclusion.

with that sovereign after the destruction of the first-born, at midnight of the fourteenth day of the month, to travel to the place, crossing the Nile on the way, after receiving Pharaoh's permission to depart, to induce the Israelites to act upon the instructions formerly given to them to collect from the Egyptians "jewels of gold, and jewels of silver, and raiment," and to have the people in readiness for the march before the morning of the fifteenth day, that is, (taking the Jewish mode of reckoning, from evening to evening into view,) in about thirty hours from the infliction of the first plague.[1] If Rameses was not at Basátín, it was, I think, *on these hypotheses*, not far from it. I can by no means assent to what Dr. Robinson says, after placing Rameses at a distance of sixty geographical miles from Memphis, according to his map, that Moses and Aaron could, in the thirty hours which we have granted above, "*easily reach Rameses from the court of Pharaoh, whether this were at Memphis*, or, as is more probable, at Zoan, or Tanis,"[2] and superintend the movements of the Israelites above referred to. The greatest difficulties which I feel about entertaining the theory of the muster of the Israelites at Basátín before the passover, (still supposing Memphis to have been the Pharaonic capital,) arise from the fact that the Israelites seem to have been in their ordinary dwellings during the night of the passover, for they were to sprinkle the blood of the Paschal lamb on the "two side-posts, and on the upper door-posts of the houses," and seem to have been commingled to a certain extent with the Egyptians, so as to permit them to demand and receive their ornaments and raiment. Father Sicard, as if anticipating some hesitation on the part of his reader, in consequence of these possibilities, supposes the "houses" referred to to have been only tents,—a supposition more consistent with the occasional use of the original word

[1] See Exod. xi. 12. [2] Bib. Research., vol. i. p. 80.

בית, and its accordance with the Arabic بيت *beit*, which commonly signifies a tent, than with reference to the peculiar *structure of their entrances*,—and when he makes Memphis and its suburbs supply the jewellery and raiment, a supposition admissible, perhaps, as far as the supply wanted is concerned, but apparently scarcely consistent with the first command of Moses about the jewellery, which required "every man to borrow (or ask) of his *neighbour*." The whole "land of Goshen," and not a mere encampment of the Israelites, was exempted from the plagues; and from the whole district it may have been necessary to collect the Israelites the day preceding their exodus. If such a gathering of the Israelites was required,—and when their severe servitude, probably in different parts of the country, is remembered, it may appear to have been necessary,—it may be urged that there is no adequate objection to Basátín being considered the place of their *muster* that day, the Rameses from which they set out on the *following morning*. It is well worthy of notice that Josephus brings them up somewhere to this neighbourhood when noticing their departure from Egypt; for he says, not merely that they took their journey from "Latopolis, then a desert, but where afterwards Babylon was built, when Cambyses devastated Egypt,"—which we have seen to be Fusṭáṭ, or the present "Old Cairo" of Europeans,[1]—but by Latopolis (κατα Λητοῦς πόλιν),[2] thus indicating that they must have passed by or near this city, as we now do when turning the Mukattam, as we proceed from Cairo or the Heliopolitan districts.

So much occurs to me in connexion with the theory of Sicard, relative to the identity of the Rameses of the Exodus and Basátín. What is now advanced on the subject, it will be observed, is intended simply to do justice to that theory. As far as the Scripture intimations go, it must be admitted

[1] See above, p. 74, *note*. [2] Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. ii. cap. 15. 1.

that Rameses may have lain much farther to the south-east. The authors of the Septuagint translation in rendering the passage, "And he (Jacob) sent Judah before him unto Joseph to direct his face unto Goshen, and they came unto the land of Goshen," make it, "He sent Judah before him to Joseph to meet him by (or at) Heroopolis, to the land of Rameses," καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ραμεσσῆ; and give the following verse in this form, "And Joseph having yoked his chariots, went up to meet Israel, his father, to Heroopolis," (καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν.)[1] In the Itinerary of Antoninus Augustus, there is an Egyptian city named Hero, in the zig-zag route from Heliv (Heliopolis) to Clysma (Suez.)[2] Its position cannot be very definitely fixed from the numbers given in the table. Strabo speaks of Heroopolis as being near to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf.[3] Ptolemy refers to it as being in a similar situation, and represents Trajan's Canal as extending by it from Babylon to the Arabian Gulf.[4] If this were the case, I see no difficulty in fixing this Heroopolis between the northern termination of the Bitter Lakes and the Nile—say even at Abu Ḳasheib, where some think it to have been situated. If this Heroopolis be that of the Septuagint—and there is no reason to believe that it is not—it must be admitted that the authority of that version, made by those well acquainted with the geography of Egypt, tells against Sicard's theory of the identity of Basátín and Rameses. To this I must add, that if it be agreed to fix Goshen there, we must incline to make Zoan the Pharaonic capital at the *Exodus* at least, as Moses and Aaron, as we have already noticed, could scarcely travel from it to Memphis, and accomplish there what they were said to have done, in little more than a day. The

[1] Gen. xlvi. 27, 28.

[2] A Heliv. Scenas Veteranorum, M. P. xviii.; vico Judæorum, M. P. xii.; Thov. M. P. xii.; Hero., M. P. xxiv.; Serapiv, M. P. xviii.; Clismo, M. P. l. Anton. August. Itin. (Wessel. Edit.) p. 170.

[3] Strab., lib. xvii. p. 836.

[4] Ptol. Geog., lib. iv. pp. 103-106.

objection already referred to, about its being out of the line of the route from Canaan to Zoan, may be removed by our making a supposition not at all unreasonable. Goshen had been promised by Pharaoh as the residence of Jacob before he was sent for from Canaan; and it might be expedient that the patriarch should make a small detour on his march, in order to accommodate the flocks and herds which he and his family brought into Egypt. It was perhaps because Zoan was the Pharaonic residence at the exodus that it is specially mentioned by the Psalmist, when he says, "Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers in the land of Egypt, in the *field of Zoan*."[1] The objection, founded on the locusts having been blown into the Red Sea, may be removed by the consideration of the circumstance that the mode of deliverance from the plague has a reference to the land of Egypt in general, which was affected by that plague, and which lies nearly parallel to the Red Sea.

At this stage of our journey I record these thoughts, without stating a decided opinion on the great geographical questions to which they refer. Our further progress to the eastward, which will lead us through the tract laid down by Father Sicard, may enable us to make some additional observations to aid our judgment. Having no theory of my own to support, I hold myself ready to receive any light which geography or history may be able to throw on the interesting subject of inquiry to which these remarks refer.

8th February.—We rose this morning with the sun, and proceeded to explore the neighbourhood of our encampment. The plain before us was to a great extent covered with loose and drifted sand, evidently marine alluvium, similar to that which lies to the north of the Mukattam range, and forming the greater part of the desert from Suez to Cairo. We pro-

[1] Psalm lxxviii. 12.

cured from it cakes of the crystallized sulphate of lime, and of fossil shells similar to those which I afterwards observed in the Jurassic limestone of Lebanon. They were probably, however, from the marine limestone or grit of the Mukattam itself. Immense quantities of rounded and angular pieces of quartz, flint, and jasper, chert, and gravel, were strown around in all directions. We were in what is called the petrified forest, the perfection of which is close on Jebel Ahmar in our vicinity. Both before and after commencing our march to-day, we procured a good many specimens of the fossil wood, a considerable number of which I have brought with me to Europe. A few of them are smooth in the outer surface, and cylindrical in their form. Most of them, however, are rough in the exterior, as if the wood had been deprived of its bark or split, and torn asunder before it became silicified. They are permeated principally by jasper, but chalcedony or agate is part of their composition, especially where the fibrous texture is to any extent wanting. Only in one or two of the many specimens which we examined, did we find anything corresponding with the bark. We saw more fragments of root, but none of them did we find in their original position in the soil. A slight inspection of them convinced us that the travellers who represent the generality of them as belonging to the monocotolydenous plants, and particularly to the palms, have entirely mistaken their character.

The opinion which we formed of them in the desert has been amply confirmed by an examination with the microscope

of some lateral and transverse sections of them made in Edinburgh, under the direction of a distinguished geologist, whose conceptions of the form and productions of the olden world are both singularly vivid and accurate, Mr. Hugh Miller. "The greater number of your specimens of wood," he observed to me, when forwarding these sections, "have not retained the vegetable tissue with any degree of distinctness, and are, besides, from their containing some metallic oxide, very opaque, but enough remains to show that they are all composed of one kind of wood, and one of the smaller specimens indicates very distinctly, at least the family to which it belonged. It is a true *dicotyledon* of the great family of the forest trees to which the ash, oak, and elm belong, and cannot be older at most than the times of the *tertiary*. The true woods of the secondary and *palæozoic* deposits, so far as has yet appeared, were all coniferous, and present very different characters when subjected to the microscope from those of your wood of the desert. They exhibit in the cross section a net-like appearance." The slips, even to the naked eye, as may be observed from the accompanying lithograph, present the character here mentioned—the character I would remark, of almost all the specimens of fossil wood which I procured in the localities of the deserts through which I passed, which have already been, or may yet be mentioned in this narrative. I had in my hands one or two specimens, which, judging from the scales upon their cylindrical stems, evidently belong to the cycadeæ, to the genus of cycas, or zamia. It is the occasional occurrence of such specimens, which, I suppose, has given rise to the popular belief, that fossil palms are the most abundant in the desert.[1]

[1] Since writing the above paragraph, I have observed the following notice of the "petrified forest," in that most interesting work, Mantell's Medals of Creation. "The most beautiful specimens (of fossil dicotyledo-

We mounted our camels at eight o'clock, A.M., and proceeded on our journey to the eastward. As we advanced

nous plants) I have seen, are from the Lybian and Egyptian deserts, and were collected by my friend Colonel Head. In these the most delicate vascular tissue is permeated by chalcedony and jasper, and some of the vessels are injected with silex of a bright vermilion, and blue colour, traversing the cellular structure, which is of a rich yellow. Fragments of these silicified trees are scattered everywhere among the sands of the desert; but the most interesting locality is a sterile, irregular plateau, which reposes on marine limestone, considerably above the level of the Nile, about seven miles east by south from Cairo. This district is called the *petrified forest*, from the immense quantities of silicified trees with which it is covered. Many of the trunks are scattered over the surface, among rolled and angular fragments of dark grit, and pebbles of jasper, chert, and quartz. The large trunks occur in greatest numbers on dark-coloured knolls, where they lie, like the broken stems of a prostrate forest, crossing each other at various angles. Two of the largest measured forty-eight and sixty feet in length, and two and a half and three feet in diameter at the base. With but two or three exceptions, all the specimens examined microscopically, possess the dicotyledonous structure. No traces of seed-vessels or leaves have been detected. (On the Geology of Egypt, by Lieutenant Newbold, F.R.S. Geol. Proc. iii. p. 782.) The situation and condition of these silicified trees, indicate great changes in the relative position of the land and sea in that part of Egypt. The trees must have grown on the dry land formed by the elevated bed of a former ocean; this must have been submerged, and covered by beds of sand and rolled pebbles; and, lastly, the whole series of deposits were raised to their present situation, the retiring waters having removed the loose portion of the once contiguous strata that were last formed, and dispersed them with fragments of the petrified trees, over the surface of the Egyptian and Lybian deserts." Mantell's Medals of Creation, vol. i. pp. 197, 198.—This account of these remarkable petrifactions, is in strict accordance with my own observation. It is made on the authority of one of the very best of our Indian geologists, Captain Newbold. He will not accuse me of presumption when I say, that I much doubt the accuracy of his theory of the successive changes of the relative position of land and sea in the part of the desert in which they are found. The petrified wood, abundant though it be, appears to me to be wholly drift wood, and not formed on any soil covering the formation on which it rests. None of that wood, so far as I could observe or learn, has been found with its roots in their original position. It was probably carried into the bed of the ocean forming the marine deposits of this locality by currents. An illustration of the manner in which it may have been collected together may be seen in what is now taking place on the shores of the Dead Sea, where the trees and bushes brought down by the Jordan are strown about in great quantities, or imbedded in the sands. "The late Dr. Malcolmson," says Dr. Buist, in an interesting report lately presented by him to the St. Andrew's Literary

numerous blocks and fragments of the fossil wood, to which we have now referred, continued to attract our attention. The ground over which we passed, after leaving the plain contiguous to Basátín, continued to be covered with the desert sand and gravel. We kept in the course of various Wádís, which, though they did not come up to our ideas of oases in the desert, being merely dry ravines, or rather depressions in the sand, presented here and there a few herbaceous and ligneous shrubs. Among these we found, in a stunted form, the Acacia Egyptiaca. A species of indigo plant was not uncommon; as also the astralagus hamosus.[1] Many of these plants, during the first two hours of our journey, were literally covered with a species of snail,[2] the *helix desertorum*, which was completely devouring their foliage, and even the more tender parts of their stems. Thousands of the white shells of this snail lay scattered in all directions.[3] The Wádís through which we passed were respectively de-

and Philosophical Society, "found fragments of the wood imbedded in the conglomerate rock which contains the Egyptian jaspers." This fact, I think, tells in favour of the explanation at which I have now hinted. Dr. B. seems not to have noticed what we observed, the occurrence of jaspers and gravel in what is called the "forest," and gives no theory of his own.

Burckhardt's theory of the origin of the petrifactions is altogether unworthy of its author. "I think it not improbable, that before Nechos dug the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea; the communication between Arsinoe or Clysma and Memphis, may have been carried on this way; and stations may have been established on the spots now covered by these petrified trees; the water requisite to produce and maintain vegetation might have been procured from deep wells, or from reservoirs of rain water, as is done in the equally barren desert between Djidda and Mekka. After the completion of the canal, this route was perhaps neglected, the trees left without a regular supply of water, dried up and fell, and the sands, with the winter rains and torrents, gradually effected the petrifaction."—Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 461. This distinguished traveller is one of those who have fallen into the mistake that the petrified wood of the desert principally belongs to the date-palms.

[1] Professor Schubert gives the Astralagus, and also the Fagonia latifolia Sieberi et tumidus, as here occurring. Reise in das Morgenland. Zweit. Band, p. 231.

[2] حلزون *Halzún* in Arabic.

[3] Sicard says, "Il y a au prin-

nominated by our Arabs, Wádí el-Ḥamárah, the Valley of the Ass, Wádí el-Yehamúm, Wádí el-Ḳandelí,[1] Wádí el-'Ukabeni-Jihúsh, and Wádí el-Heiwaṭát, the whole line of them being called also Wádí Tíh, or the Valley of the Wanderings. If the nomenclature of our guides be correct, Wádí Ḳandelí does not extend so far eastward as has been commonly said. This is a route, however, which has very seldom been traversed by intelligent Europeans.

We were a little more than ten hours on the back of the camels to-day; and we calculated that our march extended to about twenty geographical miles. The frequent deflections of the animals to get at the bushes which appear in sight, and their stooping to snatch at them, or devour them, are impediments to the progress of the traveller. Being an invalid, and unaccustomed to the motion of the camel, which requires a peculiar oscillation, backwards and forwards, on the part of the rider, I felt quite tired and crushed at the conclusion of our journey; and I was much cut by the cold winds which blew after sunset.

If we were on the tract of the Israelites to-day, we have probably halted near the encampment at Succoth, the place of tents, which may have had nothing peculiar to mark its position. "Gendeli," says Sicard,[2] "means a military station," in which there is some correspondence with Succoth;

temps une quantité si prodigieuse de gros limaçons, que l'on peut dire qu'on ne fait pas un pas sans marcher dessus. Ils sont excellent, ces limaçons, et un peuple qui n'a rien autre chose, peut en faire sa nourriture." — Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, tom. iii. p. 333. He couples this notice with the wants of the Israelites on their journey, which he thinks would, to a considerable extent, be supplied by these snails. His statement has a parallel in Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 430. "I have been informed," says the Algerine chaplain, "that there are more than forty thousand persons in Kairo, and the neighbouring villages, who live upon no other food than lizards and serpents!"

[1] Pronounced Gandeli, the Arabic ق having in Egypt, as well as among the Badawín, frequently the hard sound of *g*.

[2] Lettres Edifiantes, tom. iii. p. 335.

but he is not much to be depended upon in his Arabic etymologies. Wádí Ḳandelí, I think, means the "Long Valley," or the "Valley of the Ḳandíl," a species of plant.

From this Wádí to the north there is a considerable opening in the hilly range running eastward from Cairo. The ground to our left hand has a gentle swell, over which the traveller may easily pass, either coming directly from Cairo, or *vice versa*, or diverging from our present route, and proceeding to Suez, and keeping the range running west of that place to the south. Professor Schubert went to the left from this on his journey to the Red Sea. We observed no regular camel track on our course throughout the day, though we saw many occasional foot-marks.

9th February.—Our course to-day was nearly to the south-east. We had the sand and gravel of the desert, as yesterday, on our track; but the heights on each side of us appeared to be of coarse tertiary limestone. We had to our left, after mid-day, Jebel Reibun, or the "mountain of doubt," of the position of which we had heard much from Mr. Lieder. It forced us to keep somewhat more to the southward, than we had done before we got near to it. Its position, and the course of the Wádís, are not well marked, either in the excellent map of Colonel Leake, or in that of Dr. Robinson;[1] and we were strongly inclined to believe that this part of the country has not yet been particularly surveyed. It is where Jebel Reibun occurs, that Mr. Lieder is disposed to place the Etham of Scripture, it being, according to his view, in the "edge of the [mountainous] wilderness," and compelling the traveller proceeding by the most direct route to Suez, to go to the left. The command addressed to Moses, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that

[1] In justice to Dr. R. it is to be kept in mind that he did not visit this part of Egypt. The French Commission did not sufficiently survey it.

they *turn* and encamp before Pi-hahiroth,"[1] he thinks, would lead the Israelites to take the course farther to the south, which we are now following. Sicard, on the other hand, places Etham a good deal in advance of this place, in Wádí Ramlíyah, or the sandy plain; and he makes the Israelites move in a circle to the west, north, and east, rounding Jebel Reibun, so as to escape the narrow defiles into which, following the direct course, they must have entered. The effect of this deflection, our own further progress will enable us to understand. We pitched our camp for the night near the commencement of Wádí Ramlíyah.

10th February.—Our march to-day led us through Wádí Ramlíyah. Soon after starting, we found ourselves enclosed in a defile of no great width, which gradually contracted, till the rocks, which were decidedly cretaceous, appeared like a wall on each side of us. The crevasse in which we were, though worn on the sides as if by the action of water, appeared to us to have been formed by some violent upheaval; for the strata of the rocks, on our right and left, seemed frequently to dip in opposite directions. At some parts the defile was so rough that it appeared very unsuitable for the passage of war chariots, and so narrow as to permit not more than thirty men at the most to go abreast at a time. It is obvious, that if the hosts of the Israelites really came this way, they must have required more than a day to pass along. The difficulty of bringing them by this route, suggested to Sicard the propriety of laying down for them the deflection which he makes in his map. An insuperable objection to his line, however, we have to-day observed. On account of the occurrence of the high and precipitous range to the north, it cannot return into the plain of the Badíyà at the termination of that course before the Red Sea to the east, as he

[1] Exodus xiv. 2.

makes it do, without having previously re-entered the very defiles which I now notice, and which it is Sicard's object to avoid. This writer, who was a Jesuit, has either written from memory, or availing himself of the license of his order, been guilty of a pious fraud; or we ourselves have been sadly mistaken in our observations.

About midday we came to a chasm running to the right, and still narrower than that through which we were passing. One of our guides reported that water was to be found in it, and there was a general rush to the place where the precious treasure was to be procured. The water, all derived from recent rains, we found collected in pools among the rocks; and one of these pools, called by our Arabs Bír-Ramlíyah, or the well of Ramlíyah, contained a quantity more than sufficient to supply a large body of men and cattle. We replenished our skins with it, as we found it perfectly sweet and pure. Its occurrence suggested to us the rains of heaven, overlooked by infidels and rationalists, as the possible means by which the Israelites were supplied with this indispensable element in many of their marches through the wilderness. "Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary."[1] The tremendous storms of thunder and hail over the whole land of Egypt, which formed one of the ten plagues, would alone have been more than sufficient to provide any quantities of the needful element for the Israelites, previous to their passage of the Red Sea.

The pools to which I have now referred, and which, we were informed, seldom fail, might possibly be resorted to with advantage by those who take upon them the duty of supplying the central station on the transit route from Suez to Cairo, from which they are distant, probably, not above

[1] Psalm lxviii. 9.

twenty or twenty-five miles. The locality at which they are found is very interesting in a geological point of view, as it furnishes some striking sections of the chalk strata. We observed near it great quantities of organic remains, including immense masses of solid coralline, with the branches of the coral in some instances protruding, and nearly as crisp and hail as that of recent formation, large beds of the Ostrea Diluviana, wonderfully perfect, considering their exposure on the surface, and numerous turbinated and bivalve shells. I selected a few specimens of them, which I put into our bags, and which I had afterwards an opportunity of forwarding to England from Suez.

We emerged from Wádí Ramlíyah, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and found ourselves in the Wádí Ṭawárik, known also by the name of Badíyà, an open plain of considerable width, leading to the Red Sea, and bounded on both sides by high and steep mountains, those on the south, on our entrance into the valley, being called by the name of Jebel Ṭawéri, and those to the north Jebel Ȧtáḳah. After journeying along this valley for about three hours, we halted for the night. Most of us had relieved our camels, to a certain extent, of their burdens, and mitigated the fatigue arising from their motion, by walking for an hour or two alongside of them at the commencement and toward the close of our march. We afterwards found it advantageous to take considerable exercise on foot in this way in our daily journeys.

11th February.—We commenced our business to-day, as we terminated that of last night, by a warm, but most friendly discussion about the route of the Israelites to the Red Sea, from which our tents were now only about five miles distant. We all agreed that the way by which we had come from Basátín was *practicable* for them, though one or two of us had doubts about their ability, encumbered as they must have been by their baggage and children, to accomplish the

journey in three days, through the defiles through which we passed, and which extend about seventy geographical miles from Basátín to the opening of the Badíyà. We could not see, however, with Dr. Robinson and others, that the Scripture narrative forces us to limit to this extent the time occupied in their march. The Israelites "departed from Rameses on the fifteenth day of the first month;"[1] and a whole month had expired before they made their first specified encampment on leaving Elim; for it is said, "They took their journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the children of Israel came into the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month, after their departure out of the land of Egypt."[2] The definitive movements referred to in Scripture as occupying this month, it is to be observed, are only seven, namely, Succoth, Etham, before Pihahiroth, and on the other side of the Red Sea, Marah, Elim, and the wilderness of Sin; or if we allow one for each of the "three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham," from the place at which they first landed on the Arabian coast after passing the Red Sea, only ten. Some haltings for the night, which are not specifically mentioned, may have occurred before the passage of the Red Sea, at parts of the wilderness having no acknowledged geographical distinction, and even, perhaps, without the formation of a regular encampment. This, though a hypothesis, is admissible as such. Some may not see the necessity of resorting to it, who are yet disposed to fix on this southern route as that of the Israelites. They may think that even a whole people might accomplish a march of seventy or eighty miles in three days, when it is expressly mentioned that "the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a

[1] Numb. xxxiii. 3. [2] Exodus xvi. 1.

pillar of fire, to give them light: to *go by day and by night.*"[1] On the supposition that the Israelites took this southern route, our encampment during the night must have been where the Israelites encamped by the sea before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea over against Baal-Zephon.[2] If they were in this place, they were completely "entangled in the land, and the wilderness had shut them in," by its barriers of mountain on the right and left. The position in which we were was literally before the mouth of the defiles (Pihahiroth),[3] from which we had yesterday emerged. Migdol, if viewed according to its Hebrew etymology, may have been any fort at the entrance of the defiles, rather than an Egyptian town situated in the north of Egypt, and Baal-Zephon, some high place dedicated to the Egyptian Typhon, on the commanding promontory of Ataḳah, at the northern termination of the range on the shores of the Red Sea, on the Egyptian side. The locality is such that the army of Pharaoh, coming forth from the defiles of Ramlíyah, must have been close upon the Israelites before they could discover it, a circumstance not inconsistent with the sacred narrative, in which it is said, that "when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid; and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord."[4] It is worthy of notice, in connexion with what has now been stated, that as Pharaoh's original pursuit of the Israelites was encouraged by his belief that they would get entangled in the land, and be shut in by the wilderness, he must have had some anticipations of the final obstacles of the route

[1] Exod. xiii. 21.

[2] Exod. xiv. 2.

[3] More literally in the Hebrew the "mouths of the caverns." Gesenius, sub. voc., on the authority of Jablonski, says that it is undoubtedly an Egyptian word ⲡⲓ-ϩⲁⲭⲓ-ⲣⲱ, a place where grass and sedges grow.

[4] Exod. xiv. 10.

which they had taken before he came upon them. To this circumstance I shall afterwards have an opportunity of adverting.

In passing through the Badíyà to-day, we kept more to the northern than the southern mountains. The surface is not so level as we expected to find it, but somewhat undulating. We found ourselves again among the tertiary sand and gravel, even though the defiles behind us and the heights around us were all of the chalk formation. We saw considerable quantities of the same kind of fossil wood as that which we had observed near Basátín. A large tree of this description, about a couple of miles from the Red Sea, was nearly entire in its trunk, and some forty feet long, and pieces of its larger branches were contiguous. It is remarkable that neither here nor elsewhere did we discover a single example of the wood imbedded in the solid rock, as the late Dr. Malcolmson of Bombay found in one instance. A considerable mound of earth attracted our attention in this vicinity. It had been accumulated, we found, by the roots of a decayed Ṭarfá or tamarisk tree, and the earth which they had collected, served to show that wherever the presence of moisture in the desert permits vegetation, a considerable quantity of soil may be gradually collected. Solitary plants, and bushes, and tufts, appear here and there in the sands of the Badíyà, especially in the more level parts. They are very rare within a mile of the Red Sea.

Near the north-east corner of the Badíyà, there are a few high detached rocks which lie close to the shore. Most of our party left them to the right on rounding the corner of Jebel 'Aṭáḳah, or the Mountain of Deliverance; but Mr. Sherlock and I proceeded straight to the Red Sea before turning northward. We believed, for reasons to be afterwards stated, that when we were within the water-mark there, we were near the spot where Moses, at the Divine

command, stretched his hand over the sea, and where, "at the blast of God's nostrils, the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea."[1] We had no wish to rid ourselves of the sacred associations of the place, or to detract from that miraculous agency by which the way was thus marvellously prepared for the passage of God's people. We made an estimate of the distance across, with a view to our disposal of the objections of those who maintain that the Israelites could not have crossed the sea here in a single night as recorded in Exodus. We reckoned the width at about eight miles; but we formed our judgment merely from the eye, and were not inclined to lay much stress upon its accuracy. It appears, however, from Captain Moresby's admirable survey and chart, published by the East India Company, that we were not guilty of error. At the base of Jebel Átákah, at the northern corner of the Badíyà, a line drawn directly east to the Rás Mesállah, on the other side, is exactly six and a half geographical miles. Owing to the expansion of the gulf of Suez to the south, the distance increases to eighteen miles and three-quarters, on a line drawn across at the *southern* boundary of the Badíyà, from the northern point of Abu-Deráj to the Rás of Ṣedr. A line drawn from a point equidistant from the high lands, which bound the plain of Badíyà on each of its sides, extends to seventeen miles. These measurements are from the highest water-mark on each side, and consequently the largest which are admissible.[2]

Mr. Sherlock, Dhanjibhái, and I, overtook our party be-

[1] Exod. xv. 8.

[2] I have already remarked (p. 36) that the Badíya', or Wádí Tawárik, bears the Arabic name of Wádí Musá, or Valley of Moses, in Captain Moresby's map. When I asked our sheikh if this name was correct, he said, "This is indeed the path of our Lord Moses." On cross-examination, he continued to make the same affirmation.

fore it had rounded the headland of the 'Atáḳah. From the place where this Rás commences in the south, the distance to Suez is ten miles in the direct line. Owing to the incurvature caused by the gulf, it is considerably more to the traveller. We noticed particularly that a large body of men, with a broad column, could easily march down along the headland from Suez to the Badíyà, a fact which it is proper to keep in mind in discussions respecting the probable movements of the Israelites before crossing the Red Sea. To the south of the Badíyà, however, there could be no passage for them, as the high land of Abu-Deráj comes close to the shore. In passing over the sands we picked up a good many recent shells in excellent condition; and I made a few additions from them to a large collection belonging to these parts, which, from time to time, had been presented to me in Bombay by the officers of the Company's survey, and other friends. We found a few specimens also of different species of echini. These on examination, I find, have all been delineated in the French survey of Egypt. Various species of sea-weed were abundant. Whether is it from them, or from the abundant corals, that the Red Sea derived its Hebrew name of ים־סוף, *Yam-Súf*, or "Sea of Sedge," corresponding with the Egyptian ⲫⲓⲟⲙⲛϣⲁⲣⲓ.

We arrived at Suez a little before sunset, and encamped at the mounds a little to the north of the town, which are known among the Arabs by the name of the Tell Ḳolzum, and which, according to the local tradition, by no means opposed to our historical notices, mark the site of the ancient Clysma.[1] We had the pleasure of finding there encamped Messrs. Grey, Buckworth, Caulfield, and Jones, whose acquaintance we had made at Cairo. They were about to pro-

[1] Confer Ptol. Geog., lib. iv. p. 103. Anton. August. Itiner. (cum not. Wesseling.) p. 170. Abulfed. Descript. Ægypt. p. 24, (edit. Michaelis.) Bochart. Geograph. Sac., lib. ii. cap. xviii.

ceed to Mount Sinai by more rapid marches than those which we contemplated.

The 12th of February being the Sabbath, we "rested according to the commandment." Though several interruptions of our quietude occurred, the privileges of the sacred day we did not sacrifice. I conducted divine service and preached at the English hotel to our own party, the English vice-consul, Mr. Levick, and several gentlemen and ladies, awaiting the arrival of the India steamers. Mr. Smith, Dhanjibhái, and I, had some interesting conversation, in the course of the day, with Kotse Manouli, formerly agent to the East India Company at this place, and with his relatives, who, with himself, form the most respectable native inhabitants of the town. Like almost all the other Christians of Suez, they are members of the Greek Church. To our intercourse with them I elsewhere allude. The approach of the Hindustán, a steamer belonging to the Oriental and Peninsular Company, on its first voyage from Calcutta to Suez, was reported in the evening. It was commanded by Captain Moresby, formerly of the Indian Navy at Bombay, and the able surveyor of the northern parts of the Red Sea.

Monday, 13th February.—I got early astir this morning, and succeeded in getting a few hasty epistles ready for India and England. At the hotel, I had the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with Captain Moresby, and of being introduced to some of the passengers of the Hindustán, including Lord Elphinstone, the late Governor of Madras, and the Rev. Mr. Hay of the London Missionary Society's mission at Vizagapatan. Mr. Hay was almost persuaded to accompany us on our journey through the desert and Syria; but on mature consideration, he found that it would require longer time than he could at present afford. He kindly took charge of the fossils and recent shells which I had collected between Cairo and Suez, agreeing to take them direct to England.

Mr. Smith and I had a pleasant interview with Mr. Plowden from Calcutta, and Mr. Bell from Cairo, who were about to enter on a great enterprise, that of exploring the sources of the Nile in Abyssinia, a country in which the latter gentleman, as we had observed from a paper presented by him to the Egyptian Association, had already been very successful in his researches. Mr. Davidson, the active agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, and one of the partners of the house of Messrs. Briggs and Co. of Alexandria, gave us interesting accounts of an examination which they had made of the ancient canal leading from the Nile to the Gulf of Suez, which they represented as distinctly traceable for many miles, though much choked up by the drifted sands of the desert. They were of opinion that it could be re-opened without any great expense, and with no inconsiderable advantage, both to the irrigation of the country and inland navigation. It runs north of Suez for about ten or twelve miles, when it turns to the north-west. It is supposed to have communicated with the ancient Bitter Lakes, which were again connected with the Crocodile Lake, and the Sabà Biyár, or seven wells. It then, running west through Wádí Tumilát, communicated with the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

Strabo attributes the origin of this canal to Sesostris, before the Trojan war; but he mentions that some were of opinion, that it was first cut by Psammitichus, the son, and brought to perfection by Darius. Its termination he makes at Arsinoë, which some call Cleopatris. Near Arsinoë, he says, was the city of Heroopolis and Phragroriopolis (on the course of the canal.) The commencement of the canal (ἀρχὴ τῆς διώρυγος) he places at the village of Phaccusa, near to that of Philo. The canal, he adds, was a hundred cubits wide, and sufficient for the navigation of a large ship.[1] Herodotus

[1] Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. pp. 804, 805.

was probably in the eye of Strabo when he gave this account of this famous work. The father of Grecian history does not carry its origin so far back as the times of Sesostris. "To this king (Psammitichus) succeeded his son Neco, who was the first to undertake a canal, leading into the Red Sea, and which after him Darius carried on: it extends a distance of four days' voyage, and its breadth is such that two galleys may work their oars abreast in it. The canal derives its water from the Nile, a short distance above Bubastis, [PIBESETH,] near an Arabian town called Patumus, [PITHOM:][1] it discharges itself into the Red Sea. The excavation was commenced on that part of the Egyptian plain which borders on Arabia. The mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and which contains the quarries, is above the plain at no great distance. The canal, commencing at the foot of this hill, was continued for some length, from west to east, and then turning through the defiles, left the mountains, and was carried southward into the Arabian Gulf. The shortest track from the Northern Sea to the Red Sea, which is the same as the Southern Sea, passes by Mount Cassius, which divides Egypt from Syria: for this mountain is but 1000 furlongs from the Arabian Gulf. But the canal is so much longer than this, as it is more tortuous. In digging this canal in the reign of Neco, 120,000 Egyptians perished. He desisted in the midst of the work, being op-

[1] In this sentence I have corrected an error in the translation of Mr. Isaac Taylor, which, on account of its general accuracy I use in this quotation. Mr. Taylor makes the canal "discharge itself into the Red Sea, near an Arabian town called Patumus." The original, however, does not warrant this rendering. ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αὐτήν. ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν. ἰσθμὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. Euterpe. ρνή.

Patoumos is now universally admitted to be one of the store-cities (or Kháns) built along with Raamses by the Israelites. Exod. i. 11. It is probably with the omission of the Egyptian article Π, the Thou or Thoum of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which he places twenty-four miles from Heroopolis.—Itin. Anton. (Wessell. Edit. p. 171.)

posed by an oracular prediction, which declared, that 'he wrought for a barbarian.'"[1] Though Herodotus, as will be observed, takes no notice of any doings of Sesostris connected with this canal, some sculptured remains of Rameses II., the supposed Sesostris being found on its banks, at a place called by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson "E'Ságheca," it is not impossible that that sovereign may have had something to do with its construction.[2] Strabo, according to Major Rennell,[3] errs when he makes the canal originate at Phaccusa, alleging that this place is too low down to suit the course of a stream from the Nile to the Red Sea; but till the exact level of the country be ascertained, it is rash to pronounce upon this matter. Diodorus attributes the completion of the canal to Ptolemy II.[4] Pliny notices the operations upon it of the same ruler, but gives Sesostris the credit of first planning the scheme of uniting the Red Sea with the Nile.[5] "Howsoever," says Major Rennell, "the ancients may differ in respect of the particular line or course of the canal, or in the name of the first projector of it, they appear to be agreed on this point, that the canals made by the Egyptian and Macedonian kings, originated from the Pelusiac (or Bubastic) branch of the Nile; and that they were by no means drawn in a direct line between the approximating parts of the two seas. And on the other hand, the canals of Trajan (or Adrian) and of the Caliph Omar, both originated from a point near to, or above the Delta."[6] Ptolemy describes the canal (amnis)

[1] Herod lib. ii. (near the end.) Taylor's Trans. p. 174. In the paragraph following the passage, there is a reference to the part of the Red Sea at which we now are. "Having desisted from this work, Neco betook himself to military exploits. He, therefore, constructed galleys, some on the Northern Sea, *and some on the Arabian Gulf for the Red Sea*. Of these vessels the stocks (*docks*) may yet be seen. The fleets he employed as occasion served. Neco invading the Syrians, (Jews of Syria,) overthrew them at Magdolus, (Meggiddo,) and then took Cadytes (Jerusalem the holy) a great city of Syria." See also note, p. 91, above.

[2] Wilkinson's Modern Egypt, vol. i. p. 312.

[3] Diodorus, lib. i. p. 20.

[4] Geog. of Herod. p. 461.

[5] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29.

[6] Geog. of Herod. 464.

of Trajan, as leading from Babylon to Heroopolis.[1] It probably joined the more ancient canal in its progress.

We could learn nothing at Suez respecting the history of the town itself. Abulfeda, who wrote about the close of the tenth century, does not mention the place by its present name. He speaks merely of the "village of Ḳolzum, on the shore of the Arabian Sea, on the Egyptian side, from which the whole sea derives its name of the Sea of Ḳolzúm."[2] It probably originated with the Turks. Ludolphus de Suchem, in 1340, when referring to the part of the Red Sea where it was crossed by the Israelites, speaks of a "certain castle of the Soldan (Sulṭán) being there, where noble Christian captives were detained, and where care was taken that neither a Latinist nor Schismatic (Greek) should embark for India.[3] Breydenbach, in 1484, describes the remains of the canal, and speaks of pitching in a plain adjoining to them, called "Choas."[4] The town appears to have arisen about the year 1537-8, when the Sulṭán Suleimán, through the instrumentality of Suleimán, his Páshá in Egypt, fitted out his fleet against the Portuguese in India, on account of the injury which the overland trade between that country and Europe received from the discovery and use of the passage of the Cape of Good Hope.[5]

[1] Ptol. lib. vi.

[2] Abulfed. Ægypt, p. 23.

[3] Ludolphus de Suchem, fol. 21.

[4] Breydenbach, fol. 76.

[5] Boissard Vit. et Icon. Sultanorum, p. 244. Ramusii Navigat. et Viagg. fol. 359, 360, 303, 304, 323. In the Sommario di Tutti li Regni, Città, e Popoli orientali, etc., of the last-mentioned work, we find the following notice of the origin and state of Suez: —"Dal Cairo al Suez si viene in tre giorni. Questo è il principio di questo colfo ò vogliam dir mare. Non è porto, ma spiaggia poco habitata. Quiui il Soldano soleua fabbricare le sue armate per venire in India. Il paese è tutto sterile e senza habitationi, tutte le vettouaglie è di bisogno che visiano condutte di paesi vicini, perche quiui non si vede giunchi marini vicini alle ripe del mare, il qual è tutto di scagni, secche, et punte di pietre, di sorte che è di bisogno che l'huomo apra ben gliochi à volerui nauigare. Vi si tiene gente da cauallo in guarnisone."—Vol. i. p. 359. The residence here of Jacobite and Melchite Christians, and of hermits, and traders in the Red Sea and Arabia, is also noticed in the context.

Some of our little excursions in the town of Suez, the revival of its bázár, and the importance now attached to it in connexion with the transit to India, gave us hopes of its recovery from past desolations. It will never be a place of great consequence, however, as it has no internal resources, and every thing for the use of man and beast requires to be brought to it from a distance. Its ordinary supply of water comes from Nábà, several miles distant across the bay, or from the wells of Moses, also on the Arabian side, but farther to the south—the water of the well of Suweis, which I have elsewhere noticed, being too brackish for use; but even the Nile is resorted to when Nature's beverage is wanted in its softness and purity. Part of its firewood is brought from the bay of Zeitíyah, near the southern extremity of the gulf; or, in the form of the roots of the *ratam*, or white broom, to be made into charcoal, it is collected in the desert with much trouble and expense. Its provisions of grain, fruits, and pot vegetables, almost all come from the banks of the Nile, or are imported in boats from the Arabian coast. Considerable quantities of fish are caught in its vicinity; and they form an important article in the diet of its inhabitants. Its settled population amounts to about 1500 souls, who, with the exception of a tithe of Arab Christians, of the Greek Church, and one or two Copts, are all Muhammadans. It is seldom without a number of visitors, Egyptians, Nubians, Negroes, and Arabs, who repair to it both by land and sea. It has two principal streets, and three mean mosques. Its houses, we have already noticed.[1] The best of them surround a court near the landing-place. It is there that the governor's residence, with a covered entrance, the English and French vice-consulates, and a few kháns or storehouses, and the transit hotel, are situated. The import and export

[1] See above, p. 37.

business of the town, is to a good extent in the hands of the Greek Christians, who are the proprietors of most of the native craft belonging to the harbour. The wood used in the building of these boats, is mostly brought across the desert, as was that which was employed in constructing the fleet which was here fitted out to attempt the destruction of the Portuguese power in India. Most of its vessels are of the kind denominated bagalás. They are most in demand at the season of the year when the Muhammadan pilgrims, who go by sea, set sail for Yembo and Jeddah, the ports of Medina and Mecca, the two holy cities of Arabia. The ancient town of Arsinoë or Cleopatris, is supposed to have been situated at the northern extremity of the bay. I have already mentioned that our tents outside the town were pitched on the mounds covering the site of Clysma, the Arabic Ḳolzúm.

A little before noon we got our camels in motion, that they might be ready for us at the other side of the bay, near the wells of Moses, when we ourselves might pass over in a boat in the evening. Owing to the state of the tide, the drivers did not attempt to ford the bay opposite Tell Ḳolzum, though this is sometimes practicable. They went entirely round the head of the creek. We ourselves remained in Suez till about three o'clock, when we left the place in a small boat provided for us by Kotse Manouli. This was the second sail which I had had in the harbour of Suez. The part of it next the town is formed by a small channel running up in the midst of sandy ridges, which are left bare as islets at ebb-tides. There is a clean sandy bottom, and the depth of water is very inconsiderable, scarcely a fathom at some places, and even less to the south of the town, where the Arabs sometimes wade across. The Kadd el-Marákeb, "the shoal of the ships," is the south point of the harbour of Suez: a spit of sand extends out to the west of it half-a-mile. "Upon the eastern shore, and on the northern side of this

point, is a deep bay of shoal water, [about four or five fathoms,] with a channel up the town for buggalows and small craft."[1] In this bay we found the Hindustán steamer, which we boarded, in fulfilment of an engagement to dine with its officers. We met, from Captain Moresby, with more than the sailor's welcome. We were highly gratified by our survey of the powerful machinery, extensive accommodations, and tasteful ornaments of the floating palace; and Sheikh Maṭeir, our Arab guide and guardian, who accompanied us, stood in perfect astonishment, as its multifarious wonders one after another rushed upon his vision. The lord of the desert was at a great loss for figures of speech with which to give expression to his feelings. In a fit of desperation he compared it to the Suḳ el-Franji, alias, the French bázár, at Cairo, with which his highest conceptions of grandeur and magnificence had hitherto been associated. Mr. Holman, the blind traveller, too, whom we here unexpectedly met, surveyed it with all imaginable delight, looking narrowly at it with the eyes of the whole company. We could not but think that our Calcutta friends are highly favoured in having such provision furnished to them, as that which it affords, for their comfortable conveyance, on their return to the land of their fathers, and that they have special reason to be thankful for the consideration which has placed the whole under the charge of one so distinguished for his scientific acquirements, naval skill, and Christian kindness as its present commander. After glancing over the library, which contains an extremely judicious selection of books, made, I believe, by Dr. Howell, we sat down to dinner. The evening passed away in pleasant and not unprofitable conversation.

When we took leave of our friends, we could not but con-

[1] Moresby's Sailing Directions for the Red Sea, p. 124.

trast their engagement to continue to do business on the great waters, with our own, appointing us to enter the "great and terrible wilderness." Our boat rapidly conveyed us to the Asiatic shore. Owing to the shallowness of the water at the landing-place, we had to be carried on men's shoulders a considerable distance, before we ourselves could plant our feet on the sands. We found our dromedaries ready for our accommodation, and we rode about three miles in the clear moonlight to the Áyún Musá, or Wells of Moses, where, agreeably to our orders, our tents were ready for our reception. The day had been with us one of great activity; but though we were not a little tired, we were unwilling that it should close without our finding an opportunity of engaging in that meditation and devotion which the sacred reminiscences of these hallowed shores are so well fitted to encourage. In the solitude of our curtain tabernacle, Dhanjibhái and I read the song of Moses and of the children of Israel, with feelings and emotions such as we had never before experienced.

I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he cast into the sea.
The Lord is my strength and song,
And He[1] is become my salvation:
He is my God, and I will extol him,[2]
My father's God, and I will exalt him.
The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name.
Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea:
His chosen chariot-warriors[3] also are drowned in the Red Sea.
The depths have covered them:
They sank into the abysses[4] as a stone.
Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power:

[1] זה emphat.

[2] ואנוהו

[3] שלשיו literally "third men," (τριστάτας Sept.) three men being allotted to each chariot—one for driving and two for fighting. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, "Each (Egyptian) car contained two persons, like the diphros (δίφρος) of the Greeks. On some occasions it carried *three*, the charioteer or driver, and two chiefs." Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 335.

[4] במצולת. Compare Neh. ix. 11; Ps. lxxviii. 6, 7, &c.

Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.
And in the greatness of thy majesty[1] thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee:
Thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.
And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up,[2]
The floods stood upright as an heap,
And the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.
The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake,
I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them:
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.
Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders?
Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.
Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed:
Thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.
The people shall hear, and be afraid:
Sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.
Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed;
The mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them;
And the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.
Fear and dread shall fall upon them:
By the greatness of thine arm they shall be as still as a stone;
Till thy people pass over, O Lord,
Till the people pass over, which thou hast purchased.
Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,
In the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,
In the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.
The Lord shall reign for ever and ever."—Exod. xv. 1—18.

There are a sublimity and beauty in the language of this song of praise which are unexampled. Its elevation and excellence, however, consist not solely in the grandeur of its diction. It is the devout acknowledgment of *events*, of the actual forth-putting of Jehovah's power for the salvation of his people, and the overthrow of his enemies, at the time when the instruction of his Church and the world by terrible things in righteousness required that the dispensations of his providence should be palpable even to the eye of sense. Let that latent, or expressed, infidelity which would question

[1] גאונך [2] נערמן

these events, or detract from their grandeur and glory, show anything in the records of antiquity corresponding with it either in its majesty of conception, or devoted loyalty to God. It required a deliverance such as that which it celebrates, and the inspiration of the Spirit of God himself, for its production. That rationalism which views it as a comparatively late interpolation in the historical records of the Jews, simply from its allusions to their settlement in their own land, pays no homage to the spirit of prophecy, or to the miraculous interpositions of Jehovah, and has no right to speak in the garb of Christianity.[1]

The expressions in the song, "With the blast of thy nostrils the *waters were piled up : the floods stood upright as an heap*, and the *depths* were *congealed in the heart of the sea*, . . . thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea *covered them ;* they sank as lead in the *mighty waters*," and "The *depths* have covered them ; they sank into the *abysses as a stone*," show that the destruction of the host of Pharaoh must have occurred at a part of the sea where there was a body of water sufficiently large to correspond with the description which is given of its division and accumulation, and its subsequent ingulphing of those whom it was commissioned to overwhelm and cover. Such a place, we were persuaded, is not to be found at Suez, where the sea, as we have seen, is fordable at ebb-tide,[2] or even in its *immediate neighbourhood*, where no great depth of water is to be found. Let the grounds of this our judgment be fairly stated and considered, and let due weight be attached to the reasonings of those from whom we are compelled to differ.

I pass over what has been advanced on the subject by

[1] "The remarks in Exodus, xv. 13, 17, on the mount of possession, the sacred habitation, and the sanctuary, show that the temple was then built." (!) Note to De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 514. By Theodore Parker, minister of the Second Church of Roxbury.

[2] See above, p. 144.

Niebuhr, for his view of the question now before us meets with more support from a late celebrated American traveller than himself. Dr. Robinson, without attempting to specify the exact spot where the Israelites passed through the Red Sea, is decidedly of opinion that it was in the immediate vicinity of Suez. While he states it as a "supposition that the passage took place through the *arm of the gulf above Suez*," which he thinks was "anciently wider and deeper" than it now is, he inclines to his other supposition that the passage took place "across *shoals adjacent to Suez on the south and south-west*."[1] In arguing in behalf of these suppositions, though perhaps quite unconsciously to himself, he uses liberties with the sacred text, the tendency of which, I think, is highly dangerous. I am sorry to be obliged, after a survey of these parts of the Red Sea, and the comparison of the Scripture testimony with the appearances of the locality, to make this statement of my opinion, humble though it be, on first meeting in my travels with one to whose minuteness of observation, and patience of research, and general accuracy, the cause of biblical geography is so much indebted; but the interests of truth induce me both to make it, and to attempt its vindication. Dr. Robinson, though he does not deny the miracle recorded in Exodus, considerably detracts from its magnitude. He ascribes a particular character to the "strong east wind" of Moses, representing the miracle in which it originated as "mediate," not a direct interference with the laws of nature, but a "miraculous adaptation of those laws to produce a required result." He ventures to do this, though there is not a syllable in the Bible explanatory of the peculiar nature of the wind, as arising from a non-suspension or non-interference with the laws of nature, or otherwise. Is

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

not this being wise above what is written? "In the somewhat indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew, an east wind," he goes on to say, "means any wind from the eastern quarter; and would include the north-east wind which often prevails in this region." This, it will be observed, is a pure supposition, and not so admissible when the general direction of the gulf of Suez is adverted to, as another which it suggests, that a *north-east* wind would be denominated in the Hebrew from the *north* and not from the *east*, as is done by Moses. "A strong north-east wind," the Doctor adds, "acting upon the *ebb-tide*, would necessarily have the effect to drive out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, and also from the end of the gulf itself, leaving the shallower portions dry; while the northern part of the arm, which was anciently broader and deeper than at present, would still remain covered with water. Thus the waters would be divided, and be a wall (or defence) to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left." The "ebb-tide" here, I need scarcely observe, is a pure invention. Such an action of the wind as this is a mere skimming of the waters and forcing them away down the gulf, to leave the shallows, both at the extremity of the arm and near Suez, dry, and the upper pools, lying immediately between them, undisturbed in their depths; but it is obvious, that whatever its effects might be at the *extremity* of the arm of the sea, where most certainly the Israelites did *not* pass, as there, there would be no water on their left hand to correspond with the statement of the Bible, it might, commencing there and extending downwards, blow the deep waters out of the arm to the head of the gulf, and upon the very shallows which, according to the theory, should be made bare. The effect of a wind upon a deep body of water communicating with one less deep, and in the direction of that shallower body, is to increase the depth of the shallower body, as may

be constantly observed in the case of our Scottish lakes and rivers. But overlooking this circumstance, where, I would ask the Doctor, in his view of the matter, is the wall spoken of in Scripture? Dr. Robinson wishes us to dispose of it in a figure, and to commute it for a "*defence.*" But is it not said, that the FLOODS *stood upright as an* HEAP, and the "FLOODS were *congealed in the* HEART of the sea?" This is *poetry*, the Doctor would say. True, but it is the poetry of inspiration, having a becoming sense. It surely means more than that the waters were *blown off a mere shallow.*

But the doctor has to do with "the interval of *time* during which the passage was effected," as well as with "*the means* or instrument with which the miracle was wrought." He has spoken of an "extraordinary ebb thus brought about by natural means;" and he "cannot assume" that "it would continue more than three or four hours at the most." "The Israelites were probably on the alert, and entered upon the passage as soon as the way was practicable; but as the wind must have acted for some time before the required effect would be produced, we cannot well assume that they set off before the middle watch, or towards midnight. Before the morning watch, or two o'clock, they had probably completed the passage; for the Egyptians had entered after them, and were destroyed before the morning appeared. As the Israelites numbered more than two millions of persons, besides flocks and herds, they would of course be able to pass but slowly. If the part left dry were broad enough to enable them to cross in a body, one thousand abreast, which would require a space of more than *half-a-mile* in breadth, (and is perhaps the largest supposition admissible,) still the column would be more than two thousand persons in depth; and in all probability could not have extended less than *two miles.* It would then have occupied at least an hour in passing over its own length, or

in entering the sea; and deducting this from the largest time intervening, before the Egyptians must also have entered the sea, there will remain only time enough, under the circumstances, for the body of the Israelites to have passed at the most over a space of three or four miles. This circumstance is fatal to the hypothesis of their having crossed from Wady Ṭawârik, since the breadth of the sea at that point, according to Niebuhr's measurement, is three German, or twelve geographical miles, equal to a whole day's journey."[1] In reply to this, I have to say that I do not see that the Scripture narrative suggests a single one of the contingencies here referred to. The "ebb-tide" is a pure hypothesis of the Doctor; and, as we have already seen, it is one not to be admitted. But supposing its occurrence by a wind raised and directed miraculously,—by what in the figurative language of the Bible is called the "BLAST OF GOD'S NOSTRILS,"—is it not somewhat presumptuous in us, without direct information to guide us, to limit it to "three or four hours at the most?" "The Lord," it is said, "caused the sea to go back (or asunder) by a strong east-wind *all that night.*" We have no warrant to suppose that the miracle took any length of time to reach its perfection. It may, for anything we know to the contrary, have nearly instantaneously followed the stretching out of the hand of Moses over the sea, and the miraculous raising of the "strong east-wind," *diagonally cutting the waters*, and *not* merely rolling them down the gulf as a retiring tide—as was the case with the Jordan, the moment that the soles of the feet of the priests that bore the ark of the Lord, touched its impetuous floods. The Israelites might have been three or four hours in the bed of the sea before midnight. There is no authority even for alleging that they had "completed their passage before two o'clock," and that the Egyptians were "destroyed before the

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 84.

morning appeared." What is stated by Moses is, that "in (or *during*) the morning watch the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily."[1] This seems to have been done as if to prevent their overtaking the Israelites *still in the bed of the sea.* The Egyptians were destroyed only when the morning actually appeared. "Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea."[2] The time of the miracle is obviously the whole night, at the season of the year, too, when the night would be about its average length. There was thus ample time afforded for the passage of the Israelites from any part of the Wádí Ṭawárik, the exact measurements of which I have already given, and which in its northern part, as we have already seen, is not twelve geographical miles in breadth, but only six and a-half.[3] Extending the line of the Israelites along the shores of that Wádí, where the gulf widens, and making even the deduction of a few hours from the night, we do not assign them anything like an impossibility, when we suppose that they could perform a journey before the morning, of twelve or fifteen miles, especially when we advert to their probable excitement and animation, by the gracious and wonderful interposition of Providence which had been made in their behalf.

Connected with the "main points" of "*means*" and "*time*"

[1] Exodus, xiv. 24, 25.

[2] Exodus, xiv. 27.

[3] See above, p. 136. Even Niebuhr to whose measurement Dr. Robinson refers without qualification, was by no means confident about its accuracy. His words are, "D'après mes observations et mon calcul, je la trouvai être à peu près de 3 milles d'Allemagne: mais cette fois ci encore je ne pus former une base assez longue, pour donner à mon mesurage toute l'exactitude requise."—Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 202.

which Robinson brings to our notice, there is one of *space* to which he does not sufficiently advert. The arm of the sea at Suez, including the shallows which are left bare at ebb-tide, varies from a half-mile to two miles in breadth. Even supposing that it was somewhat wider in the days of old, it scarcely seems sufficient for the line of the Israelites, and that of the Egyptians, marching across, and the intervention of the angel of God, and of the pillar of the cloud which was light by night to the former people, and darkness to the latter, so that "the one came not near the other all the night."[1] Dr. Robinson, we have seen, ascribes to the line of the Israelites alone, a length not "less than two miles," being the whole distance from shore to shore at the widest part, and leaving no room for the army of the Egyptians and their chariots, and the interval which the narrative requires.

For the reasons now stated, I hold that Dr. Robinson's hypothesis of the passage of the Israelites in the immediate neighbourhood of Suez, and in the circumstances which he brings to our notice, is to be utterly rejected. That passage, it appears to me clear from the Scripture narrative, considered with reference to this locality, must have taken place considerably below Suez, where the floods could "stand upright as an heap," "the depths be congealed in the midst of the sea," and space be afforded to have the Israelites and the Egyptians, with the pillar of cloud and fire in a line running from shore to shore. Such a place is to be found opposite the Wádí Ṭawárik, and it is there, in all probability, that the passage of the Israelites took place. The high lands of Abu Deráj, approaching the Red Sea, forbid us to go farther south for a place to meet the demands of Scripture. This opinion I hold independently of the other question, of the exact mode of the entrance of the Israelites into the

[1] Exodus, xiv. 20.

Wádí Ṭawárik or the Badíyà, and respecting which various hypotheses are perfectly admissible, as far as the information of Scripture goes.

Local tradition and nomenclature, *as far as they go*, seem to mark out the Wádí Ṭawárik as the place of the encampment of the Israelites before their deliverance. Dr. Robinson, who had not an opportunity himself of visiting it, evidently believes, if we may judge from an article in his appendix,[1] that this is not the case to the extent that some have supposed. Without attempting to make too much of this matter, I would respectfully beg him to reconsider his note with the comment which my perusal of it has suggested.

DR. ROBINSON'S NOTE.

WADY TAWARIK.—Our guides of the Tawarah, and also intelligent natives of Suez, knew no other name for the valley S. of Jebel 'Atákah, than Wadi Tawárik. By the French engineers, and also by some writers before them, it is called Wady-er-Rámlíyah, "the Sandy." Niebuhr, and a few earlier travellers speak of the part near the gulf under the name of the Bedea; though the former says his Arab guides did not know this name.—See Le Père in Descr. de l'Egypte, et Mod. p. 47. Niebuhr's Beschr. von Arabien, p. 409.

COMMENT.

Giving Dr. Robinson credit for a faithful account of the knowledge of his Tawarah guides, I must state it as a fact, that our Tawarah guides gave the Wádí the names of Badíy'a and Et-Tíh, (extending, however, the latter name to the whole track through which we had come from the Nile to the Red Sea,) as well as Tawárik. Natives of Suez, it is to be further noticed, gave it the name of Wádí Musá, or the "Valley of Moses," to the British surveyors, a name which it occupies on Moresby's chart. Dr. Shaw, who was a tolerably good Arabic scholar, gives it the name of Baideah, explaining the word "according to the lexicon of Golius."[2] The case of Niebuhr's Arabic guides is put too strongly. He merely mentions incidentally "the plain of *Et-ti*, or *Tučrik*, as it was called by one of our Arabs."[3]

[1] Bib. Res. vol. i. note ix.

[2] بديع (ἀπὸ τοῦ بدع novæ et mirabilis rei conditor) casus novus et inauditus.—Shaw's Travels, p. 346.

[3] Niebuhr's Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 202.

"The name of *Wady-et-Tih* (valley of wandering,) which has sometimes been given to the same valley by travellers, seems not now to be known; and, if it ever actually existed among the Arabs, it was, probably, of Christian origin. Monconys, in 1647, travelled through the valley, but did not hear the name. Pater Sicard, the Jesuit missionary in Egypt, who wrote an essay to prove that the Israelites passed by way of this valley, (which he himself visited in 1720,) does not mention the name Tih; although it would have afforded him so opportune an argument from tradition in support of his theory. The name, therefore, did not probably exist at that time; and may, perhaps, have come into partial use among the Latins and their Arab dependants in consequence of this very theory. Yet neither Pococke nor Niebuhr has the name as applied to this valley. The latter, indeed, gives the name *Etti* to the part of the desert opposite to its mouth, of which, however, no trace now exists."—Reisebeschr. i. pp. 229-251. See Nouv. Mém. des Missions, tom. vi. p. 1, seq. Paulus, Sammlung der Reisen, etc., th. v. s. 210, seq.

We found, as I have already said, the name actually now known among the Arabs. We have no right to talk of what Monconys "heard," or to lay the least stress on what he has not mentioned, as in his published journal, he does not give us the name of a single place between the valley of the Nile and Suez, except that of a well which he calls "Gian Dabe." That he considered himself to be in the route of the Israelites, however, is evident from the notice which he takes of the valley [Wádi Ramlíyah] proximate to the open one which stretches to the Red Sea.[1] The name of Wádí et-Tih, or valley of the wanderings, appears on one of the maps which father Sicard forwarded to Europe along with his memoir, and which map is dated Cairo 1717. The form in which it is given is "Vallon du Tihe, ou de l'égarement," and it is engraved on the part of the map of the country immediately east of Basátín.[2] The Et-ti of Niebuhr is obviously the Wádí el-Ahtha, recognised by Dr. Robinson,[3] which is directly opposite Wádí Tawárik, and through which our own route lies.

I leave this comment to speak for itself, without drawing any inference, only adding that the name *'Atâkah* applied to the mountains between the Badíyà and Suez, means "de-

[1] His words are, "Après dîner nous passasmes pendant deux heures entre des montagnes qui sont de costé et d'autre fort droites et fort hautes, et laissent un grand chemin au milieu de trente ou quarante pas de large, qui ne semble pas mal à l'endroit dans lequel *l'Escriture dit que Pharaon prétendoit attrapper le peuple Hebrieu enfermé.* Au bout de ces montagnes est une grandissime campagne qui va jusques à la mer."—Journal des Voyages de Mons. de Monconys, p. 209.

[2] Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Mémoires du Levant, tom. iii. p. 322.

[3] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 91.

liverance," and may have originated in commemoration of the extraordinary interference in behalf of the Israelites.

On the different ways in which the Israelites may have entered the Wádí Ṭawárik it is not necessary here to enlarge. I have already noticed all that appears to me capable of being urged in favour of the route from Basátín ; but I would not say more in behalf of that route, than that, after having followed it from beginning to end, I see no objection to it which can *prima facie* be declared to be *insuperable*. The greatest difficulty which I feel in regard to it, arises from its bringing the Israelites from the districts of Heliopolis,—for its supporters must there, and not elsewhere, place the land of Goshen,—to a place directly opposite the capital of Pharaoh, by rounding the range of the Mukattam, at the time that they may be supposed to have been wishful to avoid this position, and to leave the country of Egypt altogether, as speedily as possible. This difficulty is modified by making Basátín the place merely of their *muster ;* but this theory, as we have seen, suggests another difficulty of perhaps a still graver character, connected with their sprinkling the blood of the paschal lamb on the door-posts of their houses, and their borrowing jewels of gold and silver from their neighbours. The hypothesis of Niebuhr, that the Birket el-Ḥaj, the present rendezvous of the Muhammadan pilgrims, previous to their setting out for Suez, may have been the Succoth, or place of tents of the Israelites, is entitled to some respect. In moving eastward from this place, or any one adjoining it, the Israelites may either have passed across the eastern base of the Mukattam range into Wádí Ḳandelí or Wádí Ramlíyah, and then continued onward to the Wádí Ṭawárik, or, keeping north of the hilly range altogether, they may have gone on to Suez, and passed round the extremity of Ataḳah, and gone down along the shore to Wádí

Tawárik, that they might appear to be entangled in the land. Dr. Robinson's theory, which fixes Goshen in the province of Esh-Sharkíyah, to the south and south-east of the Heliopolitan districts, and which brings the Israelites from some parts of this district adjoining the desert, and near the Red Sea,—supposing Zoan to have been the capital of the Pharaoh of the Exodus,—is perfectly consistent with itself in its essential character, in as far as it brings the Israelites in the first instance, *to Suez*. The Doctor thinks that the route of the Israelites was along the valley of the ancient canal; and that from Rameses to the head of the gulf of Suez, there was by this way a distance of some thirty or thirty-five miles. Their "first day's march brought them to Succoth, a name signifying booths, which might be applied to any temporary station or encampment." "On the second day, they reach Etham 'in the edge of the wilderness.' What wilderness? The Israelites, after passing the Red Sea, are said to have gone three days' march into the desert of Shur; but in Numbers the same tract is called the desert of Etham. It hence follows that Etham probably lay on the edge of this eastern desert, perhaps not far from the present head of the gulf, and on the eastern side of the line of the gulf or canal." "At any rate it would seem to have been the point from which the direct course of the Israelites to Sinai would have led them around the present head of the gulf, and along its eastern side. From Etham they turned more to the right; and, instead of passing along the eastern side, they marched down the western side of the arm of the gulf to the vicinity of Suez. This movement, apparently so directly out of their course, might well give Pharaoh occasion to say, 'they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in,' and lead him to pursue them with his horsemen and chariots, in the hope of

speedily overtaking them and forcing them to return."[1] This reasoning, it must be admitted, is perfectly legitimate and appropriate. I see no reason, however, why the Israelites should have stopped short in their eastern march *at Suez*, desiring as they did to make it appear that the wilderness had shut them in. Pharaoh was probably emboldened to advance when they turned to the right at the head of the gulf of Suez, were past the locality of Suez itself, had rounded Rás Ataḳah, and were actually in the last open space into which they could go to the south, with the opposing heights of the wilderness immediately before them, and not merely in prospect, but in reality, shutting them in. We have already seen what appear to us insuperable objections to their having passed through the sea at Suez; and if we bring them *to the sea* by Dr. Robinson's route, we feel compelled to carry them farther to the south, at least for nine or ten miles along the sea, before they crossed it. If, as Dr. Robinson says, they could "*easily*" pass from Rameses to the head of the gulf in three days,[2] surely he will allow that, with a little exertion, they could go, especially when pursued by an enemy, a few miles farther in the same time, to which, however, as I have already stated, I see no necessity for limiting their marches.[3]

From the statements which I have now made, and the reasonings which I have now pursued, it will be seen that while we consider the actual route of the Israelites *to* the Red Sea still an open question, and one which will probably never be satisfactorily solved, we think that there is no difficulty in pointing to *several* routes to the Red Sea which may have been perfectly practicable to them. It will be seen also, that we consider that whatever may have been the route of the Israelites to this Sea, they must have passed

[1] Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

[2] Ibid, vol. i. p. 80.

[3] See above, p. 133.

it considerably to the south of Suez, say from the Wádí Ṭawárik, and in those circumstances which lead us to receive the narrative of Scripture, and the devout and exalted song of Moses and the Israelites, according to their apparent and proper meaning, without qualification, detraction, or obscuration. I state the case plainly, as it appears to myself. While I have differed from Dr. Robinson as to the place and manner of their passage through the Red Sea, I have the firmest belief that he himself—overlooking what I cannot but consider the manifestly rationalistic tendency of his statements and reasonings—had not the slightest wish to disparage by them, but rather to illustrate, the records of our holy faith. His own high character, and most valuable labours, forbid an insinuation against his intentions. His solemn conclusion of his discussion would repel it, if made. "Either of the above (his own) suppositions," he says, "satisfies the conditions of the case; on either the deliverance of the Israelites was equally great, and the arm of Jehovah alike gloriously revealed." Such, I admit, is his veritable conviction; while, for reasons already given, I can by no means assent either to the soundness of his conclusion, or of the inferences of which he makes it the foundation.[1]

[1] Since writing the preceding observations—which notice only the conclusions at which I had arrived on the shores of the Red Sea—I have carefully perused, in that great treasury of Scriptural illustration, the Biblical Cyclopædia, edited by Dr. Kitto, an able paper of a learned countryman of Dr. Robinson, the Rev. J. R. Beard, D.D. The views of Dr. Beard, though he has not personally examined this locality, agree, I am happy to observe, in their essential features, with those which I have above brought to the notice of the reader. "From Dr. Robinson," he says, "we hesitate to differ, and should hesitate still more, did not his remarks bear obvious traces of being,—however the author may be ignorant of the fact,—influenced, if not dictated, by some foregone conclusion, and certain rationalistic habits of mind." Dr. Olin, another countryman of Dr. Robinson, the author of two respectable volumes of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land, condemns, too, the theory of the passage at Suez, and supports that which points to the Wádí Tawárik.

Wadi Waseit or Elim.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FROM THE WELLS OF MOSES TO MOUNT SINAI.

14th February 1843.—The mutual salutations of the members of our party this morning were followed by a comparison of the opinions which we had respectively formed of the great question of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. For the reasons which I have already recorded,—most of which had occurred to my fellow-travellers as well as myself,—we unanimously came to the conclusion that the theory which effects that passage at Suez must be utterly abandoned, and that that which fixes it at the mouth of the Wádí Ṭawárik, or from the front of the Rás Ațákah, must be adopted.

Before assembling for breakfast, we particularly examined the Ayún Musá, or wells of Moses, in the midst of which we

were encamped. They rise in mounds elevated a little above the level of the neighbourhood, and less than a couple of miles inland. To the north of them there is nothing but marine alluvium, near the sea; and they are probably fed from the hills to the east. Only one of them appeared to be regularly dug and built. It has a small duct in front of it. The others—six in number at present—are nothing more than fountains rising in small basins formed in the sands; but if the ground were cleared around them, it might be found that they, too, have had the advantage of artificial excavation and enclosure. The supply of water is considerable; and doubtless would be much increased, if not improved, if care were taken to have the ground around them regularly cleared. The water was neither dark-coloured, as described by Dr. Robinson, nor warm, as represented by some other travellers; but this was probably owing to our inspection of it before it was disturbed by camels, or heated by the sun, as it would probably be in the course of the day. It is brackish, though not so much so as we had been led to expect; but, as far as we could judge from a mere tasting of it, it is not sulphureous. It leaves a calcareous deposit, which has accumulated to some extent around the springs. It is not unfavourable to vegetation, as is evident, not only from some dozen or score of stunted palms, which tolerate a greater degree of salt than any other tree, but from the small patches of cultivation, embracing about an acre, which have been enclosed by a fence, and are under the care of a Badawí family, inhabiting an humble cot or shed lately erected. On these patches barley and pot vegetables, such as cabbages and melons, are raised. The fountains have, with propriety I think, been designated from the leader of the chosen tribes, for, in all probability, they and the adjoining springs at the Ain Nába supplied water to the Israelites after their passage of the Red Sea. Monconys supposes them to be the

waters of Marah mentioned in Scripture ;[1] but he has thus inadvertently left no room for the three days' journey in the wilderness of Shur, during which, as we learn, the Israelites found no water.

The town of Suez is distinctly seen from the Ayún Musá. A long belt of the Red Sea, presenting, when we viewed it, a dark green shade, is visible to the south. The high lands on its west, though extremely bare of vegetation, are very striking and impressive, owing to the grandeur and variety of their forms, and the peculiar distribution of light and shade upon their summits. The multitude of peaks, and the extent of broad shoulders, on Jebel Atákah, to the west of us, and Jebel Deráj or Ḳurálah,[2] to the south-west, are remarkable, resembling in this respect mountains of the primitive formation, though they are themselves cretaceous ; but the dryness of the atmosphere, and the little rain which falls upon them, account in part for their appearance. Abu Deráj, the "Father of Steps," comes close to the beach, and its height is very considerable. To the east of us there is a long range of cretaceous hills, called Jebel Ráḥah, apparently about eight or ten miles distant from the sea. This range in Laborde's splendid work is wonderfully correctly delineated, considering the haste with which it was sketched.[3]

It was nearly nine o'clock before we got in motion this morning. We travelled along the somewhat sloping plain between Jebel er-Ráḥah and the sea throughout the day, nearly in a straight line, running S. E. by S., and intermediate between the sea and the hills to the east of us. The ground over which we passed was in the main tolerably level, and formed generally of thin strata of fossiliferous

[1] Monconys, Journal des Voyages, tom. i. p. 210. Edit. A Lyon, A.D. 1665.

[2] Sometimes also pronounced Kulálah.

[3] See plate, p. 42.

tertiary sandstone, and much covered, occasionally, by loose sand and gravel, but having the cretaceous rocks and beds of coralline sometimes protruding. Crustations of the crystallized sulphate of lime, and sprinklings of salt, we found not unfrequent. We crossed several Wádís, running in an irregular direction from Jebel Ráḥah to the sea. They are merely gentle depressions in the sands, caused by the flow of water from the heights to the sea in the rainy season, and they are but slightly marked, except by their smoother sand, or rolled pebbles, and the greater number of camel bushes and shrubs which they nourish than are found on the contiguous ridges. The name of the first of them we did not learn from our Arabs. Dr. Robinson calls it er-Reiyánah, or "the wet." It is about five miles from the wells of Moses, and runs more in the direction of Rás Misallah than Dr. R. has marked in his map. The ground rises a little between this Wádí, and the next called Wádí Ḳardhíyah, about five miles in advance, which appears to run first to the south-west, and then to the west. Wádí el-Aḥthí, or Aḥtha, which is about ten miles from that now mentioned, fronts the centre of Wádí Ṭawárik on the Egyptian side. Is there any connexion between its name and the *Etham* of Scripture? This query we proposed, before we noticed that we had been anticipated in it by Lord Lindsay.[1] The plain between this Wádí and Wádí Ṣadr is about ten miles in extent. Wádí Ṣadr is tolerably distinctly marked, and is not so long as the others now mentioned. The range of Ráḥah is here nearer the sea than at its commencement to

[1] "Between the third and fourth hour we entered on a boundless plain of desert, called El Ati, white and painfully glaring to the eye; the wind, too, began to blow from the south, and rendered the heat very oppressive. El Ata is probably the Etham of Scripture, though the desert so called extended, as we may gather from the Mosaic account, round the head, and perhaps for some distance, along both sides of the gulf."—Lord Lindsay's Letters on the Holy Land, vol. i. p. 261.

the north. There is a conspicuous elevation near its source to the east, called Jebel Ṣadr, or Ṭáset es-Ṣadr, "the cup of Ṣadr."[1] From Wádí Ṣadr to Wádí Wardán, where we encamped for the night, the distance is about eight miles. Jebel Wardán lies near the head of this Wádí.

We heard nothing to-day of the detachment of Terábín Arabs mentioned by Dr. Robinson, as occupying these parts. They have now, I afterwards understood, joined the body of their tribe in the great desert north of Jebel et-Tíh. They belong to the Tiyáhah confederacy, inhabiting the desert north of Jebel Tíh, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. The chief of the whole body of the Ṭawarah Arabs has been our companion since we started this morning from Suez. He rode alongside of my camel, and was very communicative. He is a fine looking man, and is nicely dressed. He wears a fine Kashmír shawl round his turban, and has another over his shoulders and tied round his waist. Sheikh Maṭeir has shewn him great respect, always addressing him as the *Sheikh el-Kebír*, or Great Sheikh. He is on his way to Wádí esh-Sheikh, near Mount Sinai, where his tents are pitched. His tribe is that of the Ḳareishí, a branch of the well-known tribe with which the impostor Muḥammad was connected.

15th February.—I have now become quite in love with our desert life, notwithstanding the exposure and fatigue which are inseparable from our movements. We are generally awoke in the morning, about day-break, by the cheerful and melodious voice of Mr. Waters, the African servant of Mr. Smith, whose extraordinary musical powers charm not only ourselves, but the wildest Arabs of our Ḳafilah, who remain in the silence of enchantment till he has finished his performance. This faithful attendant, whose duties are

[1] This forms a land-mark in the navigation of the Red Sea. It is known among our sailors by the name of Barn Hill.

principally confined to the morning watch, is sure to have a cup of coffee ready for us, before we can leave our sandy couch. Anon, recovering from the entrancement into which they affect to be thrown, the Arabs begin to stir, and chatter, around us. Their first concern is their camels, which they recall from their wanderings, if, as is most commonly the case, they have not collected them together, before committing themselves to sleep at night. A piece of bread generally serves these simple and hardy people for their morning meal; and they make all due haste in its mastication, that they may have a little time to luxuriate among the fumes of the pipe, which they consider indispensable to their existence. On sallying forth from our tents, we seek to enjoy the "cool," if not the fragrant and the "silent hour," "to meditation due," and take a general survey of the scene around us, visiting all the spots of interest in our neighbourhood, and examining, as far as possible, the geological structure of the country; a work comparatively easy in these barren regions, where rock, and hill, and mountain, are everywhere laid bare to the student. The picture stretched out before us, is but rude and sombre; and in all "the melancholy bounds, rude ruins glitter." While my friends are occupied in taking down the tents, and superintending the loading of the camels, I am generally busy with my note-book. Our breakfast we soon discuss, either seated on our camp-stools, or standing around the humble board on which it is spread. It consists of bread or biscuit, hard as the stones of the desert, of the best tea which the Bombay bázár could afford,—some of us having received due warning against the collection of bitter and narcotic leaves which passes under the name in Egypt,—and of preserved meats, the fragments of our dinner on the preceding evening. Our commissary of stores furnishes us, in addition, with certain provender for the day, of eatables and drinkables, including water, the most valued of all, to be

slung over our camels, and to be ready at hand to meet the demands of the keen appetite and fiery thirst which fresh air and copious exercise, and a scorching sun, fail not to encourage and produce. When our camels get in motion, we generally follow them for a mile or two on foot, before we mount them; and we often give them a similar relief at noon, and just before the conclusion of our march for the day. We go very quietly on our way, averaging about two geographical miles in the hour, except when we make digressions from the main body of our company, when we contrive to trot along at about double this speed. We have become quite reconciled to our rolling and pitching on our lofty conveyancers; and we can dispose ourselves so conveniently upon them, that we can write and even rudely sketch, with our pencils. The conversation among ourselves consists of demonstrations and commentaries connected with the objects which pass under our notice. I have very often our sheikh as my companion; and my own Badawí attendant, Ibrahim of the Ḳareishí—from whom our sheikh has hired a number of our camels—is a perfect model of care and politeness, not only in tending the animal on which I ride, but in handing up to me stones and plants, and whatever else I may choose to inspect. Both these persons are fond of being examined about the notabilities of the road, and the manners and customs of the tribes to which they belong. When I am at a loss to understand them, Mordecai, the Jew from Bombay, or Deirí from Cairo, proves my interpreter. Many a joke is cracked over the head of our Hebrew friend; but the regard which we express for him, prevents this from passing into derision. Mr. Waters is often assailed by the witlings of the Nile, who can converse with him in English; but he is quite able to maintain his ground with them, except when his camel takes the pet, and sets upon playing its pranks, by first shaking its head from

side to side, then roaring most unmercifully, as if about to be crushed to death by its burden, and last of all, dropping down on its front-knees and refusing to rise. This camel is the only naughty one of our herd; though one or two have the custom, disagreeable to us, of protruding something like a bladder from their mouths, and emitting and tossing the saliva with which it is covered, right in our faces. To the respective animals on which we ourselves ride, whose meekness, tractableness, patience, perseverance, and utility, we greatly admire, we have formed quite an attachment; and we have all had occasion to notice the wonderful adaptation by the God of creation, of the camel to the purposes for which it is designed. Its bony structure is remarkably large and strong, and firmly knitted together, to enable it to carry a heavy load. It has but a small proportion of flesh to its bulk; and it consequently requires only a comparatively small quantity of nourishment, which it finds in the few tender herbs and thorny bushes, which here and there grow in its barren abodes, and for the quick despatch of which its cuspidating teeth, in the view of future rumination, are so peculiarly fitted. Its quadruple stomach, with the folds and cells of its capacious paunch, is so large and conveniently arranged, that it can carry a supply of water to last it for a week, and can use it, at its convenience, as thirst demands, when it is far distant from wells, and fountains, and streams. The additional joints in its legs, and the knobs or callosities on its knees and thighs, enable it to kneel and crouch to receive the load, which it meekly allows to be placed upon its back. The large hump upon its shoulders,[1] which the casual observer is apt to view as a sheer deformity, allows a fixture and pad to be placed upon it, to prevent the load from sliding backwards or forwards, when it moves among the

[1] In the Bactrian species this hump is double.

roughnesses through which it has to pass, and affords nourishment to the animal, by the process of absorption, when the supply of food becomes scanty, or is altogether exhausted. Its broad and expansive foot keeps it from sinking in the sand of the desert. Its contractile nose prevents it from suffocation, when the sand, raised by the storm, is rained over it and around it in all directions, and preserves from injury the acute sense of smell by which it is distinguished. It forms both the wealth and the life of the Arabs. When the sons of the desert meet one another, they add to their salutations, the question, How are your camels? thus marking the deep interest which they take in them as articles of property. I can scarcely reconcile that sympathy which they justly bear to them, with their proneness to devour them when dead; and, independently of religious grounds, I admire that Divine wisdom which interdicted them to the Jews as articles of food.

But let the reader complete with me our journey for the day, which to us was one of no small interest both in itself, and because it undoubtedly brought us to two of the stations of the Israelites in their wilderness wanderings. On starting in the morning, we thought that the plain over which we had yesterday travelled would soon come to a termination, as we observed elevated ground before us both to the right and left. That on the east of us was formed by a spur from Jebel Wardán, at the head of the Wádí, where we were last night encamped. That to the west, composed principally of sandstone, lay for a few miles between us and the sea. At the distance of seven or eight miles from our starting point, we crossed a ridge of high ground, and the small but distinct Wádí Amárah, running down to the Red Sea, which it reaches a little to the south of "Rás Metamer." Its name attracted our attention from its resemblance in sound to the MARAH of

Scripture; but the occurrence of the radical letter ع *'ain*, forming the first syllable, suggests a meaning different from that of the Hebrew. We now travelled for a little in the direction of the Ḥammám Faràun, a cretaceous hill, found by Captain Moresby to be 1500 feet above the level of the sea, into which it runs in the form of a headland. Our cavalcade, about four miles from Wádí 'Amárah, passed about 600 yards to the west of the Ḥajar er-Rakkáb, or the "stone of the riders." This remarkable rock, one or two of us visited. On seeing the horizontal position of its strata, we were inclined, contrary to the opinion of Niebuhr, to think that it is in its original position, and that the parts formerly contiguous to it, have been worn and wasned away by the winter torrents.[1] It is a favourite resting-place with the Arabs.

About half-a-mile in advance of this conspicuous object, we came to the 'Ain Hawárah, the "well of destruction," a fountain on a small knoll close to the tract, on its eastern side, which we were pursuing. It occupies a small basin about five feet in diameter, and eighteen inches deep, and to some extent it oozes through the sands, leaving, like the wells of Moses, a deposit of lime. I believe that I was the first of our party to essay to drink of its water; but the Arabs, on observing me about to take a potation of it, exclaimed, "*Murrah, murrah, murrah*"[2]—"It is bitter, bitter, bitter." This fountain has been almost universally admitted by travellers, since the days of Burckhardt, who first precisely indicates its situation,[3] to be the true *Marah* of Scripture, as it is found in a situation about thirty miles from the place where

[1] Niebuhr says, "C'est une masse de pierre, qui semble être tombée du haut du rocher." Voyage en Arabe, tom. i. p. 183.

[2] مُرَّة the fem. of مُرّ

[3] Some of the older travellers seem to place Marah much farther to the east, and considerably beyond the more level parts of the desert, (multis montibus relictis,) probably near Tor. Vid. Ludolph. de Suchem, fol. 21.

the Israelites must have landed on the eastern shore of the Red Sea—a space sufficient for their march, when they went three days in the wilderness and found no water.[1] No other constant spring is found in the intermediate space.[2] It retains its ancient character, and has a bad name among the Arabs, who seldom allow their camels to partake of it. Only one or two of our animals tasted it; and the Arabs left us to experiment upon its qualities alone, without even applying it to their lips. Though the murmurings of the Israelites, involving as they did a complaint against Providence, were sinful, it is not to be wondered at that Moses, considering the quality of the water which they here had to drink, cried unto the Lord for their relief. "The Lord showed him a tree which, when he cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet."[3] The healing virtue of this tree probably flowed directly from God, who sometimes works by means, which, like the rod of Moses stretched over the sea, are merely the symbols of his power, or the indices of the commencement of its action. The Badawín of these deserts know of no process now of sweetening bitter water; but the credulity of rationalism can find one sufficiently potent for the purpose of effecting a change in a supply of the element required for the two million and a-half of souls comprising the hosts of Israel. Burckhardt has directed our attention

[1] Exodus, xv. 22

[2] In the western parts of Wádí Wardán, there is a watering-place, called Abu Suweirah. Burckhardt says, "Here (Wádí Wardán) we *turned out* of the great road to Suez in a more western direction toward the sea, in order to take in water at the well of Szoueyra, which we came to in three hours from Wardan. The lower parts of Wadí Wardan, extending six or eight miles in breadth, consist of deep sand, which a strong north wind drove full in our faces, and caused such a mist that we several times went astray. Upon small sandy mounds in this plain, tamarisk trees grow in great numbers, and in the midst of these rises the well of Szoueyra, which it is extremely difficult to find without a guide. It is about two miles from the sea. We here met many Terabein women occupied in watering their camels."—Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 625.

[3] Exodus, xv. 25.

to a plant, delighting, like the palm, in a saline soil, and growing near this and similar fountains. It is called Gharḳád by the Arabs. The juice of its berries might be adequate, it is alleged, to qualify the nauseous liquid. But where, it may be asked, could a sufficient quantity of these berries be found to make a million or two of gallons of drinkable syrup?[1]

About five miles from the Ain Hawárah, after passing over some uneven ground, and in a course which we made somewhat devious on account of the rocks, we came to the Wádí Gharandel, which is commonly supposed to be the ELIM of Scripture. It is much liker the dry bed of a river than any other Wádí which we had previously seen. It is somewhat precipitous on its banks; and a good many rounded stones and beds of sand are visible throughout its course. It runs down from the mountain of the same name, which separates the range of er-Ráḥah, along which we had come, from that of Jebel Tíh, which strikes away from it in a south-easterly direction, and, as we afterwards saw from its central summits and those of Mount Sinai, runs across the whole peninsula to the sea of Akabah. It nourishes a great many bushes and trees, as well as herbs. Of these, brooms and tamarisks, and stunted palms, were the most conspicuous. It is the appearance of the latter, as well as the ease with which water of a somewhat brackish character can be procured by digging in the sands, which has suggested the

[1] The Gharkad is the Peganum Retusum of Forskal, Flor. Ægypt. p. 66. Dr. Robinson, who makes better fight against the dubious traditions of the monks, than the absurd inventions and shifts of the rationalists, thus gravely notices the notion of Burckhardt:—"The process would be a very simple one, and, doubtless, effectual; and the presence of this shrub around all brackish fountains, would cause the remedy to be always at hand. But as the Israelites broke up from Egypt on the morrow of Easter, and reached Marah apparently not more than two or three weeks later, the season for these berries would hardly have arrived."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 98.

idea that it may possibly be the Elim of the sacred narrative.[1] Its proximity to Marah is the only objection which I see to its claims. It is a place of consequence among the Ṭawarah Arabs, and forms part of the tread of the Aleí ḳát, the sheikh of whom is our chief conductor. We did not, however, see any tents pitched, or camels straying, within its borders.

South of the Wádí Gharandel we found the ground a good deal broken ; and, on every side of us, we had high cretaceous mountains. Of those toward the sea, Jebel Ḥammám was the most conspicuous. We hesitated for some time about striking off to it to the right, where the ground appeared most open ; but on our calling to mind the fact, that there is no passage round its headland toward the sea for camels, and the consequent impossibility of the route of the Israelites, which we were anxious to trace, being in this direction ; and the fact that travellers, who may have taken the lower coast road, usually come up again from the sea to the north of Jebel Ḥammám, we kept further to the left. We passed through one or two small Wádís, and, at about five or six miles distant from Wádí Gharandel, we pitched our

[1] Breydenbach (cir. A.D. 1483) identifies Gharandel, which he calls Oronden, with Elim. His notice of it is the following :—" Porro inclinata jam die in torrentem incidimus dictum Oronden, ubi figentes tentoria propter aquas quæ illic reperiebantur nocte mansimus illa. Sunt enim in loco isto plures fontes vivi : aquas claras scaturientes. Sunt et palmæ multæ ibi. Vn. suspicabamur illic esse desertum helym in quo filii Israel transitu Mari Rubro castrametantes invenerunt duodecim fontes et septuaginta palmas, ut habetur Exodi xv. cap." —Breydenbach, fol. 75. This writer notices the " pediculi," or ticks, which abound in this Wádí. The monks, long previously to this, as well as afterwards, placed Elim in the neighbourhood of Tor. " A Sina monte ad Raythum urbem, duorum dierum iter interjacet. Prope Rhaythum est Mare Rubrum, quod pertransivit Moyses. Sunt etiam septuaginta trunci palmarum." Anonymus de Loc. Hieros. (Cœc. xiv. aut xv.) in Leo. Allat. p. 94. The monks made the Israelites pass the Red Sea near the convent of St. Anthony. " A sancto Antonio bidui ferme itinere occurrit mare rubrum, ac saxum ubi stetit Moyses et virga signavit mare ; quod sectum est in xii partes, pro ratione tribuum :

tents for the night in the Wádí Waseiṭ.[1] This valley runs partly in the direction of the northern side of Jebel Ḥammám, and partly along its eastern extension. Here we found a considerable number of palm trees, and tolerable water, to any extent that we chose to dig for it in the sands. As this Wádí, with these requisites, is exactly intermediate between the supposed Marah, and the station of the Israelites near the Red Sea, which we expected to reach on the morrow, we did not hesitate to come to the conclusion that it is the ELIM of the Scriptures. It is, to say the least, scarcely less able to accommodate the camp of the Israelites than Wádí Gharandel. In either place the tribes would require to be disposed of in a space more remarkable for its length than breadth. This space, in both places, we reckoned sufficiently large.

Thursday, 16th February.—We early set upon counting the palms in the neighbourhood of our tents. We found thirty in the form of trees, more or less thriving, and twenty in the form of bushes or stumps. Each of us cut a branch or two as a memorial of our pilgrimage to Elim. But where, asked some of our party, are the "twelve wells of water," near which the Israelites encamped? Only one small pool was exposed to our view. By digging into the sands, we found that others could easily be called into existence. Adverting to the changes of thousands of years in valleys exposed to the action of mountain torrents, and the drifting of sand and chalk, none of us, I need scarcely say, expected

proinde trâjecit æquor cum populo suo. Fuit trajectus ille xviii mill. Juxta saxum illud, in quo propheta constitit, petroleum fluit. Inde egressus ad Raithu devenit: ubi interempti sunt septingenti Patres a Barbaris." Epiphan. Hagiopol. (cir. cœc. xiii.) in Symmykt. L. Allat. p. 55. Of course, those who took this view of the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites, must have placed Goshen in the Fayum, which they identified with the Pithom of Scripture.

[1] Spelled Useit and Waseit by Robinson, and Wisset and Usnit by Laborde. Burckhardt calls it Wady Oszaita, (وادي أصيطة)

to find things as they were when the ancient people of God here pitched their tabernacles. The "twelve *wells* of water" of our translation of Exodus,[1] moreover, are merely "twelve *fountains* (עינת) of water," as the rendering is in Numbers;[2] and were probably merely such springs, then open, as are here to be obtained at present by digging.

The mountain and rock scenery around us was here so peculiar and romantic, that we had a view of it taken by our artist.[3] When our camels were getting in motion, I climbed up some of the steep chalk cliffs, to examine their formation. They belong, I found, to the upper chalk, and are of dazzling whiteness, or a pale yellow, except where they have a coating of a dark coloured dust, apparently the debris of some silicious mountain rocks in the neighbourhood, such as have not yet directly come in our way. When I thought of bringing my excursion to a close, I found it a much more easy thing to have ascended to the heights over which I had passed than again to come down to the valley below; and ere long I found myself at the edge of a precipice, from which I could discover no practicable way to the bottom. By this time our whole encampment was in motion; and, as I was not observed by my friends, I was in danger of being left behind. I raised my voice to its highest pitch; but for some minutes I met with no response. When I was ultimately heard by the party, it was some time, owing to the white Indian travelling dress which I wore, before my awkward position was discovered. From the anxiety of my cries, it was concluded that some wild beast had got hold of me; and there was a general rush to the quarter where I was, both by my countrymen and the Arabs, who came on for my defence, brandishing their formidable weapons. A near inspection of me revealed my perfect

[1] Exodus, xv. 27.
[2] Numb. xxxiii. 9.
[3] See lithograph at the commencement of this chapter.

safety, and removed the fears of my friends. An Arab mounted upon the shoulders of one of his compeers, and stretching out his hands for my prehension, caught me as I glided down the chalk slopes to his embrace. In a few minutes we overtook the camels. This little incident, while it called forth many a tolerably good joke, impressed us with the propriety of having at least one companion with each individual on our subsequent digressions.

On each side of our pathway in advance, we had high and broken rocks and eminences. In three quarters of an hour we reached a branch of Wádí Thál, running nearly north and south, and varying in its breadth, which was here considerable; and in half an hour afterwards, we reached its main trunk, which runs down from Jebel Waṭáh, a small range of hills flanking a part of Jebel Tíh, but separated from it to some extent by Wádí Waṭáh. Wádí Thál contracts in the direction of the sea, to which it runs in a narrow chasm, dividing into two parts the mountain to which the Arabs give the general name of Jebel Ḥammám Faràun. There is no pathway at its termination at the sea, along the coast, except one leading over the headland, which is quite impassable for camels, and which could not be followed by any considerable body of men upon a march. Wádí Thál contains a few trees, including one or two specimens of the Ṭalḥ or acacia Arabica, from which the gum is procured. When crossing the valley, we had a good view of Jebel Waṭáh, to the left hand; and in the direction of south-east, in the distance, we had the lofty peaks of the majestic Serbál, which I had not noticed from the time that we had sailed up the Red Sea from India. Passing, for about a quarter of an hour, over some roughnesses, we got into a Wádí called Shabeikah, running along the eastern base of the southern portion of the Ḥammám Faràun. In the tortuous windings of this valley, we continued moving along for about

an hour. About the middle of it, a heap of stones noticed by Burckhardt, called the 'Oreis Themmán, "the Bride of Themmán," with some tattered remnants of red and white flags stuck upon them, and with a number of rags scattered over them, attracted our attention; and at this grave, or spot where a death has occurred, we witnessed the first act of prayer in which our Arabs appeared to engage from the time they had left Cairo. Notwithstanding the distinct, but borrowed, monotheism of Islamism, it hesitates, as I have everywhere observed in the East, to approach the Divine Being, except with the recognition of some distinct mediatorship, or external recommendation. Alas! that it should be satisfied with that of the creature.

Wádí Shabeikah led us into Wádí Ṭeiyibah, where the rocky barriers in front compel the traveller to change his course, leaving him, however, the alternative of turning either to the right hand or the left. The tract leading in the direction last mentioned was that by which Niebuhr was, by mistake, taken, when searching for Wádí Mukatteb, and by which Laborde and Dr. Robinson proceeded to Mount Sinai. That leading to the right hand conducts to the Red Sea; and it must be that which was followed by the Israelites, for their station after leaving Elim, was by the shores of this sea. We passed through Wádí Ṭeiyibah in a couple of hours. It has a serpentine course, though it is laid down in nearly a straight line in the maps. The rocks are very abrupt on each side, and their dip greatly varies. Our Arabs found in it some small pits containing stagnant water. The sea is not visible from the chasm till you are nearly ready to emerge from it, which you do at Rás Abu Zelimah. The view which here rushes upon you in a moment, is most interesting and magnificent, on both sides of the gulf. Directly opposite to you, on the Egyptian coast, you have Jebel Záferánah, the "Mount of Saffron," shining with a mellowed radiance;

and in your immediate vicinity, on the Arabian side, you have, confronting it, the steep bluff of Ḥammâm Faràun, with the Birket Faràun, or Pool of Pharaoh, interjacent—in the troubled waters of which, almost constantly raised by the force of the tides acting on the gulf, here contracted to a breadth of twelve miles, and that of the wind, passing between the heights on each side, the imagination of the Arabs has formed the billows by which the hosts of Egypt were overwhelmed, and the vortices in which they were absorbed, when they were engaged in the mad attempt to re-establish the bondage of the Israelites in spite of the manifest interferences and fearful judgments of God himself. Looking to the south, along an extended line of the sea, you have the range of Jebel Gharib enshrouding its head in the clouds, and seemingly bathing its feet in the sea,—bounding your horizon on the Arabian side.[1] To the south-east you have the grand western Sinaitic range, with the summits of Jebel Serbâl, its most lofty eminences, rising before you in great majesty. The traveller would be much inclined to linger here, were he not assured that his course will speedily reveal to him a grandeur still wilder and more sublime than that which he is here privileged to view.

Our Arabs pointed out to us the direction of the warm baths from which the Ḥammâm Faràun receive their name. It would have taken us several hours to reach them, had we made a digression to them; but we did not make the attempt.[2] Proceeding along the coast in the opposite direction,

[1] "Mount Agrib or Aggarib, [*Jebel Gharib*, the 'Mountain of the Camel's Hump,'] is the most conspicuous mountain on entering the gulf of Suez [from the south.] It has a high conical shape, and stands pre-eminent among a lofty range on the Egyptian coast. It can be seen one hundred miles distant, is about ten thousand feet high, and lies in latitude 28° 6′ 45″ north, and longitude 32° 57′ east."—Capt. Moresby's Sailing Directions for the Red Sea, p. 120.

[2] Captain Moresby says, "there is a hot salt spring, and two hot caverns."—Sailing Directions, p. 122. "These hot sulphur-springs," says Russeger, as quoted by Dr. Robinson,

to the left hand, we came in a few minutes to the Walí or tomb of the shéikh Abu Zenímah, which we had not seen noticed. Our Arabs joined their hands, and offered up a short prayer as they passed it. It is covered by a shed—the greater part of the roof of which had fallen in. It was with difficulty that I could make an entrance into it. When I got within, I found a broken slab at the end of the tomb, with an Arabic inscription, which I copied, and the only legible parts of which contained the Muhammadan creed, "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his messenger." Lying beside it were several humble Badawín votive offerings—a broken lantern, two large oyster shells, a Turkish copper coin, a pulley, and some pieces of camel harness. It is probably from Abu Zanímah that the headland of Zalímah receives its name, the *l* and *m* being often interchanged by the Arabs, as well as by other people. This headland, I may mention, is a mere low sandy beach running out from the adjoining sandstone rocks, which, to the south of it, are washed by the sea at the full tide, as they were when we passed them, with our camels up to the knees in water. Such headlands of sand are to be found at the mouths of all the Wádís communicating with the Red Sea; and are evidently formed by the sand and gravel carried down to the sea by the water rushing through the Wádís when the rains fall. The tongue of these headlands uniformly stretches to the south. Some of us bathed in the sea where the one which I now particularly notice occurs. We found the water getting deep at no great distance from

"break out from the strata of lower chalk, nearly on a level with the sea, at the foot of the mountain. The largest of them has a temperature of 55° 7′ Réaum., that of the air being 26° 3′ Réaum. The water deposits a great deal of common salt mixed with sulphur; and the latter is also found sublimated on the walls of the many caverns connected with the fountains and penetrated by their hot vapours."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 101.

the shore,—close to which Capt. Moresby, in his chart, marks the depth at twenty and twenty-four fathoms.

About two hours after leaving the mouth of Wádí Ṭeiyibah, we reached the centre of the extensive triangular plain called Wádí el-Markháh, or the "Valley of Ease," where we "encamped by the Red Sea," exactly like the Israelites at their first station after they removed from Elim.[1] We were all much struck with the indirect, but remarkable coincidence of holy Scripture, with the topography of this day's march. No person but a writer well acquainted with the geography of these parts, would, like Moses, have brought the Israelites again upon the Red Sea by a line of march so devious, but so necessary on account of the mountains and Wádís, as that which we have to day pursued. Let the reader here examine the map, and he will see the force of this remark.

Friday, 17th February.—I had the good fortune, when moving about in the neighbourhood of our tents this morning, to start a specimen of an animal about which I have long felt great curiosity, the Hyrax Syriacus, or the *Wubar* of the Arabs, now commonly admitted to be the Shaphan, or "Coney" of Scripture, and which the translator of Laborde, by an amusing mistake, converts into a "gazelle." I had a pretty distinct view of this dwarfish and sinecaudal pachyderm; but it did not long remain within the range of my vision. With the speed nearly of a hare, it made for the rocks to the west of us, where I doubt not, though "feeble," it had securely built its "nest."

When our party had got under weigh, Mr. Smith, Dhanjibhái and I trotted on our camels, followed by their owners, to the opening of a remarkable chasm in the mountains, called Wádí Dhafarí, at the north-east corner of the valley.

[1] Numb. xxxiii. 10.

We were glad that we did so, both on account of the romantic nature of the chasm, and because it afforded us an opportunity of examining the geological structure of the mountains which it cuts, and which, at a distance, appeared different in their formation from any which we had noticed since we had left Egypt. Along the base of the mountain boundary, we found a great many rounded fragments of primitive and overlying rock, particularly of red and white granite, and basaltic tufa; and they were so disposed in a line running parallel to the mountains as to give us the impression that here there is a raised beach about forty or fifty feet higher than the present water-mark. The mountains themselves, near the mouth of the Wádí, we found to be of basalt, varying very much in its colour and composition, and presenting the varieties seemingly of greenstone, porphyry, and tufa, at a very short distance from one another. The tufa is a good deal disintegrated on the surface; and in the scattering of its detritus by the winds over the chalk and sandstone hills to the north and north-west, we saw the explanation of the black coating which we had noticed on these hills during our yesterday's march. The chasm is wild and formidable, running up among the dark and angry rocks nearly meeting on each side of it, and threatening to close in upon the intruder. Burckhardt, like ourselves, seems to have taken a peep into it as he passed from Mount Sinai to Suez in 1816. He says that his guides went up into it for a mile to fill their skins; and that it is sometimes frequented by the Arabs, because it furnishes the "only sweet water between Tor and Suez, though it is out of the direct road, and the well [or pond] of Morkha [which is by no means good] is at no great distance."[1] Near this opening several beautiful acacias are growing.

[1] Travels in Syria, p. 622.

From the chasm, we kept along the edge of the mountains for about twenty minutes, when we entered another chasm somewhat similar in character, but more open and easily passable, called Wádí Lajám, or the "Valley of the Bridle." It leads into Wádí Shellál, "the Valley of the Cataracts," in a few minutes.

The valley of Shellál receives its name, according to Burckhardt, who is probably correct in his supposition, from the cataracts which are formed in it during a heavy fall of rain; but an Arab said to me that its name is Wádí Shilál, or the "Valley of the Camel-drivers." It is a most romantic pass. The porphyritic rocks have raised aloft the strata of new red sandstone, with which we here for the first time came into contact, and so acted upon it in many places as to crystallize it to such an extent that it can scarcely be distinguished from primitive rock. At a little distance, this sandstone has very much the appearance of the red laterite which covers a large portion of the trap mountains forming the Western Ghâts in India, and like it also, it is strongly impregnated with the oxyde of iron. The valley varies in its breadth, and is winding and crooked in some parts. We were about two hours and a-half before we ascended to its termination. Here we had to rise to a still greater height, for about half-an-hour, till we got to the summit of a pass called Nakb Badrah, where we rested till our artist made a sketch of the singular amphitheatre around us, of abrupted rocks of the dark red sandstone, generally dipping at an angle of 45°, and sprinkled over, in many places, with the black dust of the basaltic trap, which I have already noticed. Tremendous must have been the crash of nature, we all felt as we surveyed the ruins around us, when these rocks were instantaneously rent asunder, and raised aloft to their present eminence. Well is it for man that his era on the globe is one of comparative repose.

Our road continued in the narrow defile of the Wádí Badrah, for nearly an hour after we had surmounted the Nakb.

Nakb Badrah in the desert of Sin.

After passing some large boulders, we came to a place where the small Wádí of Kínah strikes off to the right hand, and where Wádí Ṣedr, or the "Seyh Szeder" of Burckhardt, commences.[1]

We were about an hour in this Wádí when we passed to the left, Wádí Magháraḥ, or "the valley of the cave," of which several interesting notices have been published.[2]

[1] Travels in Syria, p. 620.

[2] "After dinner we went to a neighbouring valley which lay westward, called Megena, where is a grotto cut with infinite labour in the marble rock, the entrance into which is, by the injury of time and weather, for the most part obstructed by great stones, and even the cave itself almost half-filled with sand. Being obliged to use the help of candles and other lights on our entrance, we came immediately to a great hall, supported on every side by rude unfinished pillars. This grotto, we could perceive, reached a great deal further; but, on account of the excessive heats, we declined exploring it on, and we found that the further we went, the more the passage was obstructed with sand. At length, we concluded that this cave was built for a burial-place to the Egyptians. But the inhabitants of the place, as well as the Arabs, say that a certain shiekh called Abuzelime, dwells in it, who drinks coffee continually brought from Mecca by birds, and pounded in mortars by angels; with many other such like fables, which I do not think worth while to enumerate."—Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai, by the Prefect of the Franciscan Convent of Cairo, in Pinkerton's Travels and Voyages, vol. x., p. 402. Laborde says, "This valley has been worked, as well as the moun-

We looked at some of its hieroglyphical inscriptions; but our Arabs told us not to linger at them, as greater wonders were before us. I regret that here, for the first and last time, we were guided by their advice, for there is much about this spot which is truly interesting. The mountains which were close upon us, of the rock of which we procured specimens, were of granite of a bright red colour with veins of porphyry, tinged with copper, penetrating them.

When we got beyond the entrance of the Maghárah, our Arabs made to us the welcome announcement, that we had entered the Wádí Mukatteb, or the "written valley." We had not far to look for the mysterious inscriptions, which we had so much desired to see. In the first or western division of the valley, however, which, like the second, continues for about an hour and a-half, they are not numerous. We dismounted at the broad expansion of the Wádí, which marks its division, and where it strikes to the south; and here we had them in abundance, to the fullest gratification of our curiosity. They are found on both sides of the valley, on the perpendicular and smooth cliffs of the new Red or variegated Sandstone, the strata of which are of enormous thickness, and on the large masses of this rock which have fallen from above. The surface of these stony tablets seems to have been naturally prepared for the "graving of an iron pen;" and the words which are written upon them, though not very deeply cut,[1] if we may judge from the small injury which the hand of time has

tain, for the purpose of extracting from it the copper found in the free-stone rocks. A large subterraneous series of pillars formed in the rock, and now encumbered by the rushing in of the rains, and of the sand which has there found refuge, still exhibits traces of the labours formerly prosecuted in that direction."—Laborde's Mount Sinai and Petra (English Trans., p. 253.)

[1] In some instances, they seem as if merely pricked by some instrument.

committed upon them, during the many ages they have existed, may probably "last for ever," in the sense of Job the tried patriarch of Arabia Petræa, who wished such a commemoration of the language of his deepest sorrow. The inscriptions are both literal and hieroglyphical, or I should rather say, pictorial, for they do not seem the symbols of thought conventionally expressed. The letters vary in size, from half an inch to six inches in depth, and they are generally arranged in single lines, as if representing a name and date, and preceded by a distinctive group of letters representing the word שלם or "peace." A few of them are in Greek, but most of them are in the ancient Nebathean character. The figures occurring at several places are very rude. They are those of men with shields, and swords, and bows, and arrows; of camels and horses, both with and without their riders, seated or standing by their sides; of goats and ibexes with large curved horns; of antelopes pursued by greyhounds; of ostriches and geese, and unknown birds indistinctly represented; of lizards, tortoises, and other creeping things; and of diverse quaint phantasies which cannot be characterized. The prefect of the Franciscan missionaries of Egypt, who visited them in 1722, and who was among the first in modern times to give precise information respecting them, says in his account of them, which we had with us on our journey, "They are cut into the hard marble (sandstone) rock so high as to be at some places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground; and though we had in our company persons who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters, which have, nevertheless, been cut into the hard rock with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water, nor any thing to be gotten to eat.

It is probable, therefore, that these unknown characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans, or some other persons long before the coming of Christ."[1] The letters appeared to us to be closely related to the Syriac, Cufic, and Hebrew, and, like those of the Shemitic languages, to read from right to left. The occurrence in connexion with them of the cross in various forms, indicates that their origin should be attributed to the early Christian pilgrims who passed through this line of Wádís to Mount Sinai and the other sacred localities of the peninsula. They are first mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes about the year of Christ 536, who supposes them to have been written by the Israelites on their journey through the wilderness;[2] and they have been noticed by many modern travellers. Specimens are given of them by Mr. Wortley Montagu in the Philosophical Transactions for 1766. Messrs. Coutelle and Rozière, the French engineers, copied seventy-five of them;[3] and Mr. Grey who visited them in 1820, has published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,[4] a hundred and eighty-seven of them, of which nine are in Greek, and one in Latin. They have exercised the ingenuity of the learned; and Professor Beer of Leipsig has, after much labour, succeeded in deciphering them.[5] They are to be found, not only in Wádí Mukatteb, but in all the principal Wádís of the peninsula on the route to Mount Sinai. Specimens of them were observed by Burckhardt on the heights of Jebel Serbál; and what is most remarkable, we found one or two of them on the rocks at

[1] Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. x. p. 402. This document was translated by Dr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher, who laudably proposed that proper parties should be sent to copy the inscriptions, and offered himself to bear part of the expense.

[2] Edit. Montefalcon. in Collect. nov. Patrum et Scriptor. Graecor. tom. ii. p. 206.

[3] Descript. de l'Egypte. Antiquités, tom. v. tab. 57.

[4] Vol. ii. Part I. plate 1—14. (1832.)

[5] E.F.T. Beer.—Studia Asiatica, fasciul. iii.

Petra. As some of my readers may not have seen any representation of them, I insert copies of one or two of them, which we ourselves took, in the second volume of this work, and add the alphabet as made out by Beer, which, I believe, has not hitherto appeared in any English publication. Fac-similes, I think, should be taken of the whole of them, similar to those which we have procured of the inscriptions on the cave temples of India. A couple of gentlemen pitching their tents for a fortnight in the valley, would be able to carry off the whole of them in a correct form.

The valley of Mukatteb opens out to a considerable breadth where the inscriptions are most numerous. After the large bend of the valley, they are confined principally to the western side. When we had satisfied ourselves with the view of them, Mr. Smith, Dhanjibhái, and I proceeded to take a peep through our telescopes at the high range of red granite mountains lying to the east. We were so much struck with their absolutely naked flanks, and with what appeared to be numerous dark metallic veins, or basaltic dykes, running up to their summits like a series of bars or ribs, that we resolved to visit them. At the risk of exciting the alarm of our friends, who had gone on before us, and were ignorant of our determination, we left the usual track through the valley, ordering our camel-men not to wait for us, but to overtake their companions. The mountains appeared to us, at starting, to be quite near, but they seemed to recede as we advanced upon them ; and we spent fully two hours before we could reach them. We had no idea of the extent of the exertion which we should thus be compelled to make ; but we felt that we were richly rewarded for our enterprise. On a hill in front of them, which we had to surmount before we could get to their base, we were surprised to see immense quantities of debris and slag, with fragments of stone mortars and furnaces, which, we doubted not, had

been used in the remotest antiquity for the pounding and smelting of ore. When we actually reached the mountains, we found that they had been peeled and excavated to a great extent where the veins and dykes had occurred; and that only their coarser contents had in some places been spared. Numerous grooves and channels seemed to be cut in the extraction of the ore, from the very top to the bottom of the mountains, even where they were most perpendicular; and the mountains are completely spoiled and stripped of their treasures. How they were wrought—whether by the aid of scaffoldings reaching from the bottom, or by supports let down from above by ropes or chains—it is impossible to say. Great must have been the exposure and the waste of human life in the working of them. We looked upon them with much interest; and we could account for the fact that they have hitherto escaped the notice of travellers only by the circumstance that they are out of the way, and that the wonderful inscriptions in the Wádí Mukatteb have naturally enough monopolized attention. They formed to us a most striking and valuable illustration of the ancient processes of mining, and the enterprise in which they originated, as referred to in that sublime and interesting chapter of Job, the twenty-eighth:—

"Surely there is a vein for the silver,
And a place for gold, where they fine it.
Iron is taken out of the earth,
And copper[1] is molten out of the stone.
He (man) setteth an end to darkness,
And searcheth out all perfection,
The stones of darkness and the shadow of death.
The flood breaketh out from the inhabitant,
Even the waters forgotten of the foot.
They are dried up, they are gone away from men.
As for the earth, out of it cometh bread;
And under it is turned up as it were fire.
The stones of it are the place of sapphires;
And it hath dust of gold.
There is a path which no fowl knoweth,

[1] נחושה. Not brass, as in our translation.

And which the vulture's eye hath not seen;
The lion's whelps have not trodden it,
Nor the fierce lion passed by it.
He (man) putteth forth his hand upon the rock;
He overturneth the mountains by the roots.
He cutteth out rivers (channels) among the rocks;
And his eye seeth every precious thing.
He bindeth the floods from overflowing;
And the thing that is hid he bringeth forth to light.
But where shall wisdom be found,
And where is the place of understanding?"

We took care to procure specimens of such of the dykes and veins running up through these mountains as are still left. The stone is of a felspathic porphyry, with a dark coating upon it, probably arising from the presence of copper. Whether silver was of old procured in this neighbourhood or not, we could not venture to form an opinion; but we were inclined to think that some of the empty channels may have contained gold, for we found what appeared to be a few particles of that precious metal in the sands not far distant.

These mines of the north of the Mukatteb valley, as far as we examined them, seem to differ from those of Maghárah, Ṣarábut el-Ḳhádim, and Wádí Naṣb, which have been discovered and described by other travellers, as the excavations have been made at them principally above the base, and not among the roots of the mountains.[1] They may have been wrought prior to, or contemporaneously with, the others now mentioned, and by the Egyptians, whose tablets and tombs, covered by hieroglyphics, have been discovered in the neighbouring places of the peninsula, and some of which have been accurately delineated by Laborde. This enterprising traveller, to whose pencil we are so much indebted, does not attempt to decipher these hieroglyphical inscriptions; but comparing the cartouches which he gives with those in Wilkinson's tables, I find some of them to be those of Osirtasen I.,

[1] Compare the notice of the mines of Maghárah, p. 183.

who is supposed to have ascended the throne B. C. 1740, and to have been reigning when Joseph came into Egypt; of Thothmes III., 1495, or Thothmes IV., 1446, B. C.; of Amunmai Rameses, or Rameses the Great, (his son,) B. C. 1355, whose name appears on the Flaminian obelisk at Rome; of Rameses VII., B. C. 1170; and of Sobaco II., B. C. 728. Wilkinson himself, who does not refer to Laborde's plates and cuts, speaking of the hieroglyphics at Wádí Magháràh, says,—"They contain the names of Remai, who appears to have been the same as Papi; of a nomen adopted at a later time by Sobaco II.; . . . of Shofo, Suphis, or Cheops, the founder of the great pyramid; and of another Memphite Pharaoh, found in the great pyramid."[1] If these names were actually written during the reign of the Egyptian sovereigns to whom they apply, the mines must have been wrought long before the time of Job, even before the time of Abraham.

As we had no Arab guide with us when we visited the interesting excavations to which I have now referred, I cannot mention the name of the place where they are found. It lies, however, at the mountains, about two hours due east of the spot where the greatest body of inscriptions in Wádí Mukatteb ceases on its western side. We remained at it till the darkness was about to settle down upon us. We had not long left it, in pursuit of our companions, when we were met by two sturdy Arabs, who had been sent in search of us by our faithful sheikh, Mateir. When they adverted to the quiet way in which we had decamped from our friends, and saw the specimens of the rock with which we had loaded ourselves, they said, "These are, indeed, fortunate gentlemen; they have actually found the treasure of which the English travellers are always in search!" We prized their company more than their com-

[1] Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. ii. p. 407.

pliments; and we committed ourselves entirely to their guidance. After about an hour's journey, we saw a light in the distance; and on approaching it, we found our sheikh and Mr. Smith's servant, with our camels, waiting our arrival. We were glad to mount the animals, though we did not much relish riding upon them in the dark. They had no good will to the service to which they were called at an hour at which they have been usually allowed to rest or roam; but we were not able to give them their liberty till we arrived, at half-past eight, at the commencement of Wádí Feirán, where we found our tents pitched, and our friends greatly at a loss to account for our long absence from their company. They heard with much interest the narrative of our evening's proceedings; and they determined to pay a visit to the mountains on the following morning.

Saturday, 18th February.—Messrs. Sherlock, Parke, and Allan started early, by moonlight, to visit the excavations which we had examined on the preceding evening. While waiting their return, Mr. Smith, Dhanjibhái, and I, made an excursion among the rocks in the neighbourhood of our encampment. We found that we had been pitched a few hundred yards from the southern corner of the Wádí Mukatteb, at the commencement of what our Arabs termed Wádí Feirán, and where a branch of the Wádí strikes off to the west in the direction of the sea. There is here a kind of rocky pass, and a sharp turn from the one valley into the other; and on the western side in particular there are high sandstone cliffs, enclosing some argillaceous and calcareous strata. This sandstone—a continuation of the new red sandstone of the Mukatteb—is nearly of a pure white, in many places being entirely free of the oxyde of iron; and—what is remarkable—it contains many organic remains. We procured in it several specimens of conchifera, a nautilus, and an echinus. As it belongs to a formation generally deficient

in organic remains, it is deserving of a more particular examination than we could give to it.

If the Israelites did not follow our route from el-Markhah, but went one or two marches farther to the south, along the Red Sea, which I do not think probable, they would, in all likelihood, come up from the shores of the Red Sea by the north-western termination of the Wádí Feirán, which we have noticed turning to the right, as it is now generally admitted that they came upon Mount Sinai by the upper approach, in advance. Laborde, in his delineation of the Wádí Mukatteb, introduces them to the manna in that valley. The manna of Scripture he supposes to be the sugar exuded from the Ṭarfá, or Tamarisk mannifera, in consequence of the puncture of an insect, the coccus mannifera, and called *Mann* by the Arabs. Of this substance, Burckhardt gives us a particular account, which I give below, but which, notwithstanding his opinion to the contrary, does by no means appear to me to correspond with the food which God gave the Israelites from heaven.[1]

[1] "This substance is called by the Bedouins, Mann (مَنّ), and accurately resembles the description of manna given in the Scriptures. In the month of June it drops from the thorns of the tamarisk upon the fallen twigs, leaves, and thorns which always cover the ground beneath that tree in the natural state; the manna is collected before sunrise, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it. The Arabs clean away the leaves, dirt, &c. which adhere to it, boil it, strain it through a coarse piece of cloth, and put it into leathern skins; in this way they preserve it till the following year, and use it as they do honey, to pour over their unleavened bread, or to dip their bread into. I could not learn that they ever make it into cakes or loaves. The manna is found only in years when copious rains have fallen; sometimes it is not produced at all, as will probably happen this year. I saw none of it among the Arabs, but I obtained a small piece of last year's produce, in the convent, where, having been kept in the cool shade and moderate temperature of that place, it had become quite solid, and formed a small cake; it became soft when kept some time in the hand; if, placed in the sun for five minutes, it dissolved; but, when restored to a cool place, it became solid again in a quarter of an hour. In the season at which the Arabs gather it, it never acquires that state of hardness which will allow of its being pounded, as the Israelites are said to have done in

Our party was reunited at breakfast; and we commenced our journey through Wádí Feirán, with the majestic Serbál, with its five lofty peaks, straight before us as our Ḳiblah, and expected resting-place for the night. The valley runs S. E. by E. for a couple of hours in almost a straight line, and is tolerably level. The breadth varies, I should think, from about four to six hundred yards. It is sprinkled with sand

Numbers xi. 8. Its colour is a dirty yellow, and the piece which I saw was still mixed with bits of tamarisk leaves: its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. If eaten in any considerable quantity, it is said to be slightly purgative. The quantity of manna collected at present, even in seasons when the most copious rains fall, is very trifling, perhaps not amounting to more than five or six hundred pounds. It is entirely consumed among the Bedouins, who consider it the greatest dainty which their country affords. The harvest is usually in June, and lasts for about six weeks; sometimes it begins in May."—Burckhardt's Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 600.

How little a reference to this substance is fitted to explain the manna of Scripture, or to account for the great miracle by which it was provided for the Israelites, must be apparent to every one who will give but ordinary attention to the sacred narrative, and contrast it with the passage now quoted. The Tarfá is among the plants which grow spontaneously in Egypt; and the Israelites would have recognised its exuded sugar; but the manna received its name from the Israelites asking, *What is that?* Exod. xvi. 15. The manna was a small round thing, like hoar frost, and of the size of coriander seed. It fell every morning; and when the dew was exhaled, it was found alone upon the ground. It fell every day, except on the Sabbath, and only around the camp of the Israelites. Every sixth day it fell in double quantities; and though it became putrid when kept on ordinary days, it suffered no change on the Sabbath. It fell in such quantities that it maintained the whole hosts of Israel, amounting to about two millions and a half of souls, who suffered no inconvenience from its almost exclusive use. It fell, not merely for six weeks in a season, beginning with the month of July, but throughout the whole year, beginning, in the first instance, with the month of May, and continuing without failing for forty years. Though when left on the surface of the desert, it was melted by the sun, it had such a consistence when taken into the tents, that it was beaten in mortars, and made into cakes.

Various other plants which need not be here noticed, yield a substance which has been called manna. See Mr. Royle's article on Manna in the Biblical Encyclopædia. The coincidence of the name of the Arabic *mann* and the Hebrew מָן may be merely casual, or the Arabs may have given the name *mann* to the inspissated sugar of the Tarfá, from seeing that it has some slight resemblance to the scriptural manna.

throughout, and has but little vegetation. For the first half hour we had sandstone on each side of us; but after that, we had gneiss, and other primitive rocks, and porphyry penetrating the strata of the former in the form of dykes, and sometimes overlying them. When about to enter the part of this valley of Feirán where it begins to take a waving course, and near the place where Wádí Rummán, or the "Valley of the Pomegranate," enters it from the north, I observed a serpent coiled in the yellow sand, which it resembled in colour; and dismounting from my camel, I killed it with my whip. It proved to be a species of cerastes, and was about seventeen inches in length. Its two horns, which rose immediately above its eyes, were half an inch in height, and slightly curved towards its back. The Arabs declared it to be dangerous; and they were unwilling to touch it. They gave it the name of Leffah, which, although appropriated to a single species of serpent by Dr. Shaw, I am inclined to think is the generic name for a viper.[1] The cerastes, supposed by some to be the שְׁפִיפֹן *Shephiphon* of Genesis xlix. 17,[2] is very common in Egypt and the desert; but this was the only specimen of this species of reptile—indeed, the only specimen of a serpent—which we saw in our long journey.

The valley contracted a good deal, as well as became somewhat winding in its course, after we had passed the Wádí Rummán, which runs into it from the N.N.E. According to Burckhardt, it receives for about an hour's journey the name of Wádí el-Beká, or the "Valley of Weeping;" but we did not hear our Arabs give it this denomination. The plants and bushes increased in it in number as we advanced.

[1] "The burning (torrida) Dipsas, as Lucan calls it, answereth very well both to the name and quality of the Leffah. (sc. a لفع Laffah urere Vid. Gol.)" Shaw's Travels, p. 251.

[2] As by Colonel Hamilton Smith in Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature, p. 738. But is not the Shephiphon the سفّ *Sáf* of the Arabs? Vid. Bochart. Hierozoic. i. p. 416, et seq.

Entrance to Wadi Feiran

About six hours from our starting in the morning, we came upon the first of the date trees for which Wádí Feirán is so celebrated. They occur at a place called Ḥuseiyah (حسيه) where there are a few huts, and some gardens and fields watered from a deep well. We scaled these enclosures, and got an Arab damsel to draw us some water, which we found to be both pure and cool, and a great luxury. The view of the rocks and hills on each side of the valley here, was most picturesque, and some of us halted till a beautiful pencil drawing of the scene was made by O'Brien. This place, however, is only an outfield of the Paradise of the Bedawín, as Wádí Feirán has been called. It is in advance of it about an hour,—where a limpid stream winds its way through the Wádí, for a great part of the year,—that the date and nebḳ groves and gardens begin to abound. Lord Lindsay has proved their charming songster; but the grandeur around and above them in the diversified hills and gigantic mountains by which they are bounded, inspires a feeling of sublimity, which makes one, at first at least, overlook their beauty. Still, however, they come up to our idea of oases in the desert, and are quite refreshing and exhilarating to the pilgrim—who has seen nothing for many weeks but "a dry and parched land, wherein no water is." The hearty salutation of men, women, and children, seen moving amongst them in patriarchal garb as you pass, breaks the spell of the doleful solitude under the influence of which you have almost unconsciously been for many days, and brings into action the hundred sympathies connected with human society, which have been so long dormant. We had a strange and most pleasurable revival of joyous feeling when we were able to pitch our humble tabernacles under their shadow. This we did where the valley is broadest, where the habitations of the Arabs, and the tokens of their cultivation are most numerous, immediately opposite to the mouth of Wádí 'Aleikát,

which runs up to the right hand towards Jebel Serbál. We were close to the spot which is considered the acropolis of the ancient town, the humble ruins of whose houses, tombs, churches, and fortifications, were before us and around us, generally in clusters occupying the slopes of the various accessible eminences.[1] We had not far to go for the purposes of antiquarian exploration; but there is little, indeed, to reward research. The abodes of the former dead and living are much mingled together, and can scarcely be distinguished. They are partly built,—principally of dry stone,—and partly excavated, and are but small in their dimensions. The entrance to all of them is by very low doors, quite such as would suit the taste of a troglodyte people. The form of none of the ecclesiastical buildings can be definitely ascertained. Some of the huts or houses seem to have been occupied at no distant time; but the Arabs now have an aversion to repair them, and to take up their abode within them. They content themselves with still humbler fabrics, if, indeed, they choose at all to dispense with the tent.

The Arabs of Wádí Feirán, as mentioned by Burckhardt,[2] are principally the Tibnás, a branch of the Jebelíyah, or mountaineers of Mount Sinai, whom we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. They are the gardeners of the Ṭawarah Arabs, especially of the Ṣawálihah, who claim the valley as their property; and for whom, it is said, they keep it in cultivation for a third of its increase. Numbers of the Badawín, however, are always in the valley, and especially at the time of the date-harvest. We were speedily surrounded by swarms of them offering to sell us provisions, and to render us their services. We were pleased to notice their inclination prudently to suppress the cry of *bakshish*, till they could do, or give, something fitted to call forth our

[1] See the plan of this locality in the French edition of Laborde's work.

[2] Travels in Syria, p. 602.

generosity. We were glad to purchase a sheep from them, as we had had no fresh meat since we left Suez, and but little since we moved from the banks of the Nile. They took care to consecrate it according to the rites of the Muhammadan religion, when killing it, expecting, no doubt, a share of it for themselves; but they were extremely brief with the ceremonies, perhaps rightly anticipating an interruption from us, the owners of the property, whom they knew to be of a faith different from their own. We got from them a skin of nice dates, from which the stones had been carefully extracted. It was tightly sewed together around its contents, which had been pressed into it to its utmost capacity. I saw in it, for the first time, an illustration of the text of Job, so obscure to occidentalists, "My transgression is sealed up in a bag, and thou sewest up mine iniquity;"[1] that is, carefully preservest it all, as a commodity not to be thrown away or forgotten. They also furnished us with a few watermelons, cucumbers, onions, and pot vegetables, and a supply of the saccharine juice of the palm, which they denominated "honey."

Determined, on our part, to learn as much as possible of their manners and customs, and to impress them with the kindness of Europeans, we invited them, and a good many of our own camel-drivers, to the best feast we could prepare. We all acted to some extent as their hosts; but Mr. Smith and I joined their own circle, taking our seat with them round an immense fire which they fed with dried wood collected in the neighbourhood, and which they were ever and anon stirring up to a blaze with their clubs and hammer-headed sticks. We treated them to several rounds of coffee, taking care that it should have to them the novel character of sweetness, from the addition of a liberal supply of the pro-

[1] Job xiv. 17.

duct of the sweet cane from a far country. When we found them take to the sugar, we got hold of one of the largest loaves of it which issue from Muḥammad Alí's factories on the Nile, and broke it down by a hatchet for distribution. We then poured a little of the essence of pepermint and ginger on the boulders, before distributing them; and they proved the most delicious and agreeable fragments by which the oral and lingual nerves of the sons of the desert had ever been regaled or titurated. They entered freely into the spirit of our entertainment; and to add to its zest, they called for music, producing a lame youth, who, they said, could both sing and play. He held a rude instrument in his hand, something like a guitar, but more resembling a wooden soup-laddle covered with skin, about eighteen inches long, with three cords stretched longitudinally over it, and a screw at the end for the purpose of tightening them. When he began to raise his voice and to finger his instrument, contorting at the same time his countenance as a small belligerent member of the feline race, it was difficult for us to preserve our gravity, and render the polite attention which his undoubted wish to contribute to our gratification, had a right to secure. He got some encouragement by the plaudits which the Arabs poured upon him; and on their expression of their satisfaction with his performance, he gave us sundry repetitions. I succeeded in writing down the whole of his song, which was singularly characteristic of the desert poetry, and gave us an interesting summary of Bedawín life. It told us how, in his infancy, he had trotted after his mother, as a kid after a goat; how, in his boyhood, he tended the camels among the thorns and bushes, and tender herbs of the Wádís; how, in the morn of his youth, he was melted by the soft and tender glances of the gazelle-eyed maid, ready at all times, in her maiden coyness, to flee from his presence; and how, in the maturity of his manhood,

mounted upon a comely steed, and armed with a deathful spear, he pursued the leopard among the mountains of prey. We had well-nigh forgotten ourselves, and the advance of time, when rejoicing with these sons of the wilderness. It was within a few minutes of midnight when we recognized the duty of giving our guests leave to depart. We explained the abruptness with which we brought the proceedings to a close, by telling them that the day sacred to God was at hand. They went quietly away, and gave us no disturbance during the night.

Sabbath, 19th February.—The rest of the Sabbath is always welcome to the wayworn traveller; but in a place so sublime and beautiful in its natural scenery, and so interesting and sacred in its associations, as Wádí Feirán, it is peculiarly precious. This we all felt throughout the day, when encamped under the shadow of the majestic and gigantic Serbál,—which, right or wrong, we considered distinctively the Mount Paran of the Bible,—and in the lovely valley in which the Christianity of the desert found a refuge in its early ages. After performing our ablutions in the crystal stream which was purling before the door of our tents, we assembled together for social worship. Mr. Sherlock read the morning service of the Church of England; and I read a discourse on the character and conduct of believers as strangers and pilgrims on the earth. Our servants and the Arabs, too, I called together, and spoke to on the mission of the Son of God from heaven, and his atonement on the cross, the only secure hope of the sinner. I endeavoured to subvert their prejudices as Muhammadans against the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and to explain the sense in which we view him as the Son of the Highest. Mordecai the Jew, aided me in the expression of my sentiments. I am convinced that if a mission were instituted among the Arabs of Mount Sinai, its head-quarters should be in this valley,

because some scores of Arabs are always to be found stationed here — because it is traversed by numerous travellers and pilgrims, and their Arab attendants—because many natives come to it from distant places for supplies of food—and because it is tolerably suitable as a place of residence for a European. A considerable quantity of grain may be raised on the fertile, though stony, patches which here and there can be brought under culture. The rivulet does not fail for more than half the year; and even when it proves "like a brook that passeth away," the wells furnish abundance of good water. The milk of the goat and sheep can here be procured in any needful quantity.[1] It would be glorious, indeed, to see our holy faith reinstated in more than its former dominion in this interesting place.[2]

[1] In connexion with these notices, which contain the result of my own observation and inquiry at the place, I think it right to give the following passage from Burckhardt. "The narrowness of the valley of Feirán, which is not more than a hundred paces across the high mountains on each side, and the thick woods of date trees, render the heat extremely oppressive, and the unhealthiness of the situation is increased by the badness of the water. The Tebna are far from being as robust and healthy as their neighbours, and in spring and summer dangerous fevers reign here. The few among them who have cattle, live during those seasons under tents in the mountains, leaving a few persons in care of the trees."—Travels in Syria, p. 604. Burckhardt visited the place in the beginning of June. The central part of the valley where the Wádí 'Aleikát joins it, is not only an open, but apparently a healthy place, and the part chosen for the ancient town, is the best place of residence at present. Burckhardt says of the valley here—"It widens considerably where it is joined by Wádí 'Aleyát, (Aleikát) and is about a quarter of an hour in breadth. Upon the mountains on both sides of the road, stand the ruins of an ancient city."—P. 616.

[2] Le Quien has devoted several pages of his large work, (Oriens Christianus, tom. iii. fol. 747-758,) to a notice of the bishops of Pharan or Mount Sinai. The sum of his references to the former place, compared with Tillemont, Mémoires, x. p. 453, and Cosmas Indicopleust. in Montfaucon's Nov. Coll. Pat., is thus given by Dr. Robinson. "During the earlier centuries of this monastic possession of the peninsula, the seat of the bishop appears to have been at Pharan or Faran, the present Feirán; where was likewise a Christian population, and a senate or council, so early as the time of Nilus, about A.D. 400. About this time, too, Naterus or Nathyr is mentioned as its bishop. The Bishop Macarius . . .

Is there any connexion between Feirán, and the wilderness and mountain of Paran of the sacred Scripture? This is a question which we anxiously put to one another when in this valley. Travellers have not been agreed about the answer to be given. Niebuhr is disposed to reply to it in the affirmative, and Burckhardt in the negative. As far as the Hebrew and Arabic denominations of Feirán and Paran go, they may be identical. Paran is mentioned in Scripture in several historical and poetical passages,[1] in which it seems to be used in a comprehensive sense, as applicable, not merely to some particular part or parts of the desert, contiguous to

probably had his seat there; and before the middle of the sixth century, there is express mention of Photius as Bishop of Pharan. About the same time, A.D. 535, Pharan is mentioned by Cosmas as the location of Rephidim. Theodorus, of the same See, was famous in the Monothelitic controversy, and was denounced by two councils—that of the Lateran, A.D. 749, and that of Constantinople, A.D. 680."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 186.

[1] The following are the passages in which Paran occurs in Scripture:—

"And he (Ishmael) dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt."—Gen. xxi. 21. On his first exposure by his mother, she wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. —Ibid, v. 14.

"And the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran."—Numb. x. 12. "Afterward the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran."—Numb. xii. 16. "And Moses by the commandment of the Lord sent them (the spies) from the wilderness of Paran."—Numb. xiii. 3. "And they went (on their return) and came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh."—Numb. xiii. 26.

"These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this (the east) side Jordan, in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab."—Deut. i. 1. "And he (Moses) said, the Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousand of saints."—Deut. xxxiii. 2.

"And David arose, and went down to the wilderness of Paran. And there was a man in Maon whose possessions were in Carmel (of Judah.)" —1 Sam. xxv. 1, 2.

(When David was in Edom, Hadad and certain Edomites) "arose out of Midian, and came to Paran: and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt."—1 Kings, xi. 18.

Habakkuk iii. 3. See in text, above.

With these passages take, perhaps, Gen. xiv. 6, "And the Horites in their mount Seir unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness."

Mount Sinai and south of Judah, but to a large portion, if not the whole, of Arabia Petræa; and it may include this district, from which it may probably have derived its name. If this conclusion be correct—and I see no objection to it—it suggests a very sublime interpretation of the most sublime poetry of Habakkuk :—

"God came from Teman,
And the Holy One from Mount Paran,
His glory covered the heavens,
And the earth was full of his praise,
And his brightness was as the light:
He had horns (rays) coming out of his hand:
And there was the hiding of his power."

When God descended to give the law to his people, the divine glory was revealed from Teman, or Mâan, in the east of Edom, to Paran, or Serbâl in the west. It literally covered the heavens over this extent. His majestic presence shook a large portion of the globe.—

"He stood and measured the earth;
He beheld and drove asunder the nations.
And the everlasting mountains were scattered,
The perpetual hills did bow;
His ways are everlasting.
I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction;
And the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble."

HABAKKUK, iii. 3-7.[1]

These curtains were probably the tabernacles, or tents, of the Midian Cushites, the flock of the priest of whom Moses kept in these very parts, where he obtained the daughter of his master, called an Ethiopian, or Cushite, as his wife.[2]

After mid-day we found it rather hot in our tents; and we left them to take a walk together along the porphyritic ridge, forming the eastern side of the Wâdí Âleikât, and part of the lower heights of Jebel Serbâl. Our movement here, in the circumstances in which we were placed, was not

[1] Lord Lindsay quotes this passage in connexion with Wâdí Feirân. Letters, i. p. 278.

[2] Compare Exod. iii. 1, with Numbers, xii. 1.

only necessary for our refreshment, but favourable to our meditation on the wondrous works of God, around and above us. I was unwilling, for myself, that it should be continued to an extent incompatible with the day as one appointed for sacred "rest;" but the excitement of the scene acting upon some of my companions, perhaps more willing and able to endure fatigue at this time than myself, led them to aspire at ascending the very summits of Serbál, which have not in modern times, so far as I am aware, been reached by any European except the enterprising Burckhardt and Rüppell. Mr. Smith aimed at the western peak; and he supposed that he got about two-thirds up. He did not find it practicable, however, to continue to scale the heights which were then before him, as they were formed of almost perpendicular walls and masses of bare granite rock. The prospect, he represented, as "on all sides, of sublime, gloomy, desolate grandeur, unparalleled," he believed, "in any other part of the world;" and he found the ascent and descent very dangerous in many places, particularly as he had no guide. He understood, he said, after returning, what the prophet means by the "feet stumbling upon the dark mountains,"[1] for he had occasionally his fears that he should fall headlong to his own destruction. Mr. Sherlock went farther to the east, following, I afterwards found on examining Burckhardt, the track by which that distinguished traveller returned to Wádí Feirán from the eastern peninsula. He thought that he had got still higher up the mountain than Mr. Smith. He did not return to us in the evening till long after the sun had gone down, and till we had sent the Arabs in search of him in all directions, with the promise of a present if they should bring him to us in safety. He was completely knocked up by his exertions.

It is scarcely creditable to modern enterprise that these

[1] Jer. xiii. 16.

heights have been so little explored. Burckhardt ascended the eastern peak, which is the highest, from Wádí Ertámah, which runs out from Wádí Feirán,[1] about an hour and a half in advance of us to the south-east. At the extremity of the Wádí Ertámah, he crossed over an ascent, at the eastern side of which he found Wádí Rimm, a tributary of Wádí Ṣoláf, which he had observed on coming from Mount Sinai. At this place he came upon the ruins of a small village built of hewn stone, and having the foundations of a large edifice perfectly traceable. Ascending for an hour, he rested and passed the night with a Jebelíyah Arab, who, though well acquainted with the mountain, refused to be his guide, unless for a recompense which he refused to grant. His further progress is best reported in his own words. "We took our guns and our provision sack, filled our water-skin at a neighbouring well called Ain Rymm, (عين رم) and began ascending the mountain straight before us. . . . We walked over sharp rocks without any path, till we came to the almost perpendicular side of the upper Serbál, which we ascended in a narrow difficult cleft. The day grew excessively hot, not a breath of wind was stirring, and it took us four hours to climb up to the lower summit of the mountain, where I arrived completely exhausted. Here is a small plain with some trees, and the ruins of a small stone reservoir for water. On several blocks of granite are inscriptions, but most of them are illegible; I copied the two following.[2] . . . .

"After reposing a little, I ascended the eastern peak, which was to our left hand, and reached its top in three quarters of an hour, after great exertions, for the rock is so

[1] Burckhardt gives the name of Wádí Sheikh to the part of the valley of which Wádí Ertámah is a tributary; but, properly speaking, the Wádí Sheikh does not commence till we come to the cross ravine called Wádí el-Bueib, or the Mouth.

[2] In the Wádí Mukatteb character.

smooth and slippery, as well as steep, that even barefooted as I was, I was obliged frequently to crawl upon my belly, to avoid being precipitated below, and had I not casually met with a few shrubs to grasp, I should probably have been obliged to abandon my attempt, or have rolled down the cliff. The summit of the eastern peak consists of one enormous mass of granite, the smoothness of which is broken only by a few partial fissures, presenting an appearance not unlike the ice-covered peaks of the Alps. The sides of the peak, at a few paces below its top, are formed of large insulated blocks twenty or thirty feet long, which appeared as if just suspended, in the act of rushing down the steep. Near the top I found steps regularly formed with large loose stones, which must have been brought from below, and so judiciously arranged along the declivity, that they have resisted the devastations of time, and may still serve for ascending. I was told afterwards that these steps are the continuation of a regular path from the bottom of the mountain, which is in several parts cut through the rock with great labour. If we had had the guide, we should have ascended by this road, which turns along the southern and eastern side of Serbál. The mount has in all five peaks; the two highest are that to the east, which I ascended, and another immediately west of it; these rise like cones, and are distinguishable from a great distance, particularly on the road to Cairo.

"The eastern peak, which from below looks as sharp as a needle, has a platform on its summit of about fifty paces in circumference. Here is a heap of small loose stones, about two feet high, forming a circle about twelve paces in diameter. Just below the top, I found on every granite block that presented a smooth surface, inscriptions, the far greater part of which were illegible. I copied the three following, from different blocks; the characters of the first are a foot-

long. Upon the rock from which I copied the third, there were a great many others; but very few were legible. . . .

"There are small caverns large enough to shelter a few persons, between some of the masses of stone. On the sides of these caverns are numerous inscriptions similar to those given above. . . . . .

"The fact of so many inscriptions being found upon the rocks near the summit of this mountain, and also in the valley which leads from its foot to Feirán, as will presently be mentioned, together with the existence of the road leading up to the peak, afford strong reasons for presuming that the Serbál was an ancient place of devotion. It will be recollected that no inscriptions are found either on the mountain of Moses, or on Mount St. Catherine; and that those which are found in the Ledja valley at the foot of Djebel Katerin, are not to be traced above the rock, from which the water is said to have issued; and appear only to be the work of pilgrims who visited that rock. From these circumstances, I am persuaded that Mount Serbál was at one time the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula; and that it was then considered the mountain where Moses received the tables of the law; though I am equally convinced, from a perusal of the Scriptures, that the Israelites encamped in the Upper Sinai, and that either Djebel Mousa or Mount St. Catherine was the real Horeb. It is not at all impossible that the proximity of Serbál to Egypt may at one period have caused that mountain to be the Horeb of the pilgrims, and that the establishment of the convent in its present situation, which was probably chosen from motives of security, may have led to the transferring of that honour to Djebel Mousa. At present, neither the monks of Mount Sinai, nor those of Cairo consider Mount Serbál as the scene of any of the events of sacred history; nor have the Bedouins any tradition among them respecting it; but it is possible

that if the Byzantine writers were thoroughly examined, some mention might be found of this mountain, which I believe was never before visited by any European traveller."[1]

In consequence of some facts about the early pilgrimages to Serbál, here brought to notice by Burckhardt, some writers have come to the conclusion that this mountain, after all, may be really the Sinai of Scripture. The difficulty of ascending to it, and its distance from any valley where the camp of the Israelites could be accommodated, as well as the local tradition, are entirely destructive of this opinion. Were I to hazard a conjecture in explanation of the pilgrimages, I should say that they originated in the belief that Jebel Serbál is really the Mount PARAN of Scripture, which we have seen is associated by the Prophet Habakkuk with the manifestation of the Divine glory in connexion with the giving of the Law, and which consequently, in the days of the pilgrimage, might be reckoned one of the sacred mountains of the peninsula. It must be borne in mind, that the inscriptions by the hands of pilgrims, as I have already hinted, are not peculiar to it as a mountain. They are to be found, as we afterwards saw, in the defile of Hawá leading up to the valley of Er-Ráḥah, lying before Mount Sinai, and on the defile of El-Lejah, leading up to Mount Sinai itself, and in other localities, as far distant as Petra in Idumea. Burckhardt admits that the pilgrims who wrote the inscriptions placed their smitten rock in el-Lejah. They must, of necessity, have fixed their Horeb contiguous to that place.

Monday, 20th February.—Determining to-day to reach Mount Sinai, even though our luggage might not overtake us till the following morning, we got astir at half-past three, and commenced our journey an hour later. We had not a

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 606-609.

lovelier morning during the whole of our pilgrimage. The moon moving through an unbedimmed sky, threw a softened radiance on the peaks of Serbál; and the morning star was sparkling like a diamond on the crest of one of the neighbouring mountains. Anon, the streaks of light from the morning sun began to "illume with fluid gold" the pinnacles on the east, with greater glory than the sinking rulers of the night diffused on the west. Light and shade were strangely but beautifully commingled among the hills and valleys, on our right and left, and among the russet palms and cyclopean rocks among which we were wending our way to the mouth of the Wádí esh-Sheikh. In about two hours and a half we struck into this valley,—finding it, at our entrance, run to the N.E. by E.—in preference to the Ṣoláf, which commences about the same place, and runs here to the S.E. After half an hour's progress, we came upon a small flock of sheep and goats attended by two women and a boy. Their guardians fled and concealed themselves in the bushes as we approached them. Whether this arose from bashfulness or fear, I shall not say; but on detecting them we took care to banish any alarm which might have been excited. The damsels, on our call, came forth from their hidings, and immediately set upon catching the goats, to procure for us a supply of warm milk. We viewed their kindness as a call to breakfast, which we quickly got ready and despatched. Our fair attendants had their curiosity well feasted by our proceedings; and in return for the milk, we gave them the last of the oranges which we had brought from Egypt. They were dressed in a loose garment of dark blue cotton, which, like themselves, was greatly in need of soap and water. Their head was uncovered; but a hideous veil concealed their faces from their eyes downwards. A few Turkish copper coins were dangling from their ears. Their arms, which were bare from the elbow, and also their hands, were

thickly punctured and tattooed according to various artistic devices. Though the maids of the desert, they were but poor representatives to us of Jethro's daughters, who kept their father's flocks in these very valleys. Had they belonged to the family of some of the sheikhs, however, they might have come nearer to our ideas of patriarchal simplicity and pastoral comeliness. Their demeanour in our presence was in every respect proper; and nothing was done before them to make them shrink from other European travellers.

At this place a messenger came to us from Sheikh Ṣáleh, —the great chief of the Ṭawarah Arabs, who had journeyed with us from Suez, and parted with us on Saturday evening,—to invite us to spend the day, and to dine with him at his tents, about three hours distant in the Wádí. Our plans did not permit us to accept his kind proposals.

Wádí Sheikh considerably expanded as we advanced, and a few minutes after we had rested at breakfast, we began to strike nearly due east over a sandy undulating plain, broken here and there by low hills. The eastern Sinaitic range was rising before us, running nearly parallel to our course at the right hand, but highest to the south-east of us. About two hours from our entering on this plain, we crossed the Wádí Abu Ṭáleb running to the south; and two hours later, exactly at noon, we found ourselves in the Wádí Ṣoláf, running here to the north-east, along the base of the bold and dark Jebel Hawá, a long buttress of rock enclosing the higher sacred mountains, which were overtopping it, as the towers of a citadel its walls. We were here at the foot of the celebrated Nakb el-Hawá, or "Pass of the Wind," called by Burckhardt "Nakb el-Rahah," from the valley to which it leads; and by which the traveller from Wádí Feirán, unless he take a more circuitous route by Wádí Sheikh, ascends to Mount Sinai. The ascent is rugged and tortuous.

Sometimes we had to push our way through among large granite boulders and detached rocks, of an enormous size, threatening to roll upon us, and crush us to annihilation. At other times we had to creep warily along narrow terraces without any shelving in front, afraid that we might take a leap downwards to the depths of destruction. We did not, however, find the ascent so difficult as some of the descriptions of it which we had read gave us reason to expect. Among the precipitous defiles in the western Ghâts of India, we had frequently had greater exertion to make, and caution to observe, both in riding and walking. We noticed the inscriptions in the Wádí Mukatteb and Greek characters observed by Niebuhr, Burckhardt, and others. They occur at three or four places, and some of them are now well nigh obliterated. We got to the summit in less than two hours, climbing up almost the whole of the way on foot. We had still a narrower defile before us for a quarter of an hour, after we got to the highest point; but it began to expand as we advanced. A few palm trees and green bushes were tokens of the possibility of life, amidst the awful desolation which the heights on all sides presented to our view. The first snow which I had seen for fifteen years, covered the peaks and filled the crevices of Jebel Ṣalṣal-Zeit in our front.

On a sudden, when we had deflected a little to the left hand, a broad quadrangular plain, but of much greater length than breadth, lay before us. It is bounded at its farthest extremity by a mountain of surpassing height, grandeur, and terror: and this was the very "mount of God," where he stood when he descended in fire, and where rested the cloud of his glory, from which he spoke "all the words of the law." The plain itself was the Wádí er-Ráḥah, the "Valley of Rest," where stood the whole congregation of the sons and daughters of Israel when gathered together

MOUNT SINAI FROM THE WÁDÍ ER-RÁHAH.

before the Lord. As of old, the everlasting mountains, by which it was bounded on every side, were the walls, and the expanse of heaven itself the canopy, of this great temple. Entered within its court, so sacred in its associations, we felt for a time the curiosity of the traveller lost in the reverence and awe of the worshipper. Never before, perhaps, were we so strangely affected as in this wondrous locality. Our emotions were then incapable of analysis, as they are now of description. I trust they were more than excited by the contemplation of past realities and enduring solemnities—that they were directed Godward by the great Spirit of truth himself.

We walked through the valley of Ráḥah, occasionally stopping to survey the interesting scene around us, but without interrupting the progress of the camels. About the middle of the Wádí there is a small water-shed, at the head of which, on the south-western side, there are several large detached rocks. On one of these we rested for a few minutes, viewing, with indescribable interest, the mountain, which, on our first entrance into this valley, had proved the spell of our enchantment. It is of deep red granite. It rises from the plain almost perpendicularly, about 1500 feet. From the monks it receives the name of Jebel Horeb. Jebel Músá, or the mount of Moses both of the monks and Arabs, was not visible. It is not, however, it is to be observed, a distinct mountain, but only the highest peak of this one, at the part most remote from the valley. As we approached Horeb, we saw Jebel Kátherín, (Catherine,) its twin sister, outpeering it, to the right, but owing to its position, which is somewhat aside from the valley, by no means so commanding or imposing. Rounding the eastern corner of Horeb, at the commencement of Wádí Sheikh, we had a narrow defile called Sh'ueib, or the "Valley of Jethro," straight before us to the S.E., in which, at the distance of

about three quarters of a mile, we saw the convent, or fortlet—for such in reality it is—in which we were to seek for shelter during our sojourn in these parts, with its beautiful gardens adorning it on the side nearest to us. Jebel Monájah was full in our view behind the convent. Jebel ed-Deir reared itself aloft on our left, as Sinai on our right. We passed quickly over the sheets of rock and the rude pavement, by which the asperities of the way are scarcely mitigated; and, in a few minutes, we completed this stage of our journey, so early as four in the afternoon. The monks readily responded to our call from below; and after blaming our sheikh for not bringing our letter of introduction from the branch convent at Cairo, they threw us a rope with a loop at its extremity, by which, turning a windlass, and assisted by one of their own Arab serfs, they hoisted us in succession to the projecting window from which they had espied us from above. We did not much dangle in the air as we went aloft, for some thirty feet; and a helping hand caught us as a bale of goods, and safely landed us in the company of our new friends. Though they opened not their gate to us, which, from the dread of the intrusion of the Saracens, has been built up for upwards of a century, except when they have been visited by their titular archbishop from Constantinople, they opened their hearts, bade us a hearty welcome, and gave us a cordial embrace. Mr. Petros, a noviciate companion, told us, in the languages both of eastern and western Europe, that he had been waiting all the day long to leap into the arms of our affection. They conducted us through porches, and piazzas, and courts, to an humble staircase which led to the strangers' apartments; and here they gave us the best rooms which were at their disposal. These looked into the principal quadrangle of the convent, where we could watch the motions of its inmates; and though not large, they were clean and comfortable, covered with pieces of mat and

carpet, and having diwâns around them, on which we could sit by day, and recline by night. A piece of table, and a few antique chairs, were given to us to increase our luxuries. The former was speedily covered, and a comfortable dinner was set before us. For the timeous preparation of this repast, we were indebted to a premonitory note in ancient Greek, which, at the request of my companions, I had scribbled at the Wâdí Feirân, and which they had jocularly forwarded by an extraordinary courier, to have, I suppose, its intelligibility tested by the critical hermits to whom it was addressed. Mr. Petros invited us in the evening to accompany him to the garden, which we entered by a long, dark, and low passage, secured by strong gates at both its extremities, by which it communicates with the convent. The garden is beautiful, and the sight of culture in the Region of Desolation itself is quite refreshing.[1] The soil, which must have been accumulated with prodigious labour, is exceedingly rich, being formed of the waste of the primitive rocks, intermixed with manure. Considerable crops of vegetables are raised upon it; and it supports a large number of trees and bushes. Among these we noticed many of those which are most familiar to us in sacred history and sacred song. The fig-tree was there, ready to put forth her green figs in due season. The pomegranate had budded; and the vine was about to flourish. The tall gopher, or cypress, stood upright in its dark perennial green. The almond, the most abundant of all, was in its fullest blossom, the emblem, in its spring, of the hoary locks of man in the winter of his age.

[1] Horeb, in Hebrew חֹרֵב, means "dry, desert, and desolation."

Peak near Mount Sinai.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MOUNT SINAI.

The day after our arrival at the convent, as a matter of course we made the ascent of Jebel Músá. We set out at half-past ten in the forenoon, taking a silent monk furnished by the superior, and two volunteer Jebelíyah serfs, as our guides. We were attended also by a band of Arab children, who made it their employment, in the hope of receiving some little present from us, to collect any beautiful crystals or pebbles which they thought might please our fancy. Our way, as far as its winding course, caused by the steepness of the mountain, permits one to state its direction, may be said to have lain to the S.S.E., commencing nearly behind the convent. Some rough steps, the remains of some thousand cut for the Empress Helena, or some other ardent devotee of

the pilgrimage, facilitated our progress.[1] We were exactly two hours and twenty minutes in reaching the point of our destination; but we might have accomplished this task in a shorter time, had we not ever and anon stopped to survey the interesting scene above and around us. The usual resting places are at a spring of delicious water, about twenty minutes from the convent; the chapel of the Virgin, a small and plain oratory, commemorative, it is alleged, of a ridiculous miracle, said to have been wrought by the Virgin in behalf of the monks, to deliver them from a formidable plague of vermin;[2] a double gateway, formerly used as a confessional for the testing of pilgrims; and a small, but agreeable Wádí, extending across the mountain for about half an hour, and separating its northern and southern peaks, and in which are a well and cypress tree,[3] and the chapel of Elijah, where, according to tradition, the prophet reposed

[1] In the tract entitled Anonymus de Locis Hierosolymitanis, published in the Symmikta of Leo Allatius, (p. 93,) and supposed to belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, these steps are estimated at 6600.

[2] This legend is best given in the words of one of the olden travellers. Notwithstanding the gravity of the Latin, the following is sufficiently absurd:—"Venimus ad capellam que (quæ) beate Marie titulo venerabilis habetur; in memoriam subscripte rei quondam fundatam. Quodam namque tempore serpentes, vippere, buffones, et alia animalia venenosa adeo in monasterio et per ejus circumitum multiplicata increverunt que monachi hac necessitate compulsi locum penitus deserere decreverunt. Verum communi prius ordinata processione ipsi monachi montem sanctum ascendere et locis illis valedicere statuerunt anteaquam cum rebus suis inde migrarent. Quo facto cum in eum locum tristes mestique redissent ubi hodie dicta capella est sita: ecce virgo gloriosa mater domini dulcissima eis ne a loco tam sancto discederent precepit: securitateque pollicita mox disparuit. Monachi vero metuentes ne forte fantasma esset quod viderant: deum devotius exoraverunt ut si vera fuisset apparitio id aliquo ejus signo dato ostendere dignarent. Mox eis orantibus fons vivus de sub pedibus eorum emanans: ipsos majorem in modum letificavit, qui usque hodie jugitur scaturiens ascendentibus montem illum sive descendentibus multe est consolatori. Sed et vermes venenosi non modo procul inde aufugerunt sedus que in hodiernum diem nequeunt appropinquare loco eidem."—Breydenbach, fol. 72. Sir John Maundeville's version of the story is similar, and, if possible, still more ridiculous. Voiage and Travaille, i. p. 61.

[3] Mr. Stephens, in his lively, but rather reckless volume, calls this a *palm*.

when he fled from Jezabel. The steepest part of the mountain perhaps is between this place and the summit; and it usually occupies in the ascent about half an hour. The body of the mountain, like almost all the heights adjoining it, is of a deep-red or flesh-coloured granite, the grains of felspar being not so large as in the Theban granite. At the highest point, however, it terminates in white granite, extremely fine in the grain, and containing comparatively few particles of hornblende or mica. It is thus literally, as well as poetically, the "gray-topped Sinai" of Milton. A small sprinkling of the debris of porphyry or clay-slate, or thin layer of the clay-slate itself, resting upon the granite, is visible at one or two points as we go up. The mountain, when looked upon in the mass, appears to the eye almost entirely destitute of vegetation; but a good many plants and small bushes are discovered as you proceed over its surface. In some of the crevices and ravines we found patches of snow, the first on which Mr. Smith and I had trode for many years. To our young Pársí friend Dhanjibháí, it was an entire novelty. Notwithstanding all that he had read of "congealed vapour," he touched it and tasted it with extreme wonder.

The summit of Jebel Músá is not many square yards in extent. It is partly covered by a small chapel, or rather open shed, belonging to the convent, and by a similar simple construction called a mosk, pertaining to the Muhammadans. We could well dispense even with the chapel on such a scene; for, occupying the place which it does, it is not fitted to facilitate the devotion of the pilgrim, who seeks to be influenced either by the contemplation of the works, or the remembrance of the ways, of God. In certain states of the weather, however, it may afford him desirable shelter. In the fifteenth century, it seems to have been a more respectable building;[1] but even then its very existence on such a spot

[1] Breydenbach speaks of it as "parva quædam et pulchra ædificata capella ferreo ostio firmiter clausa," fol. 73.

must have been a deformity. Formerly, as perhaps now, the Roman and Greek churches united in promising absolution to those who might enter this erection. "In prefata capella est plenaria olim peccatorum remissio," according to Breydenbach. A little below the chapel is shown a mark in the granite, said to be an impression of the foot of the camel of Muhammad, who is feigned to have ascended to this height; and also a small hollow of the rock, into which the monks imagine that Moses retired when the glory of God was revealed before him.

Happily, we had a perfectly clear atmosphere when we stood on Jebel Músá, and there was nothing around us, except the higher peaks of Jebel Káthern, and the ridge of which it is a part, to the south and west of us, to interrupt our view. It was terrific and sublime beyond all our expectations. We were on the very axis, as it appeared, of the most remarkable group of primitive mountains in this remarkable peninsula. In the stability of their foundations, the depth of their chasms, the magnitude and fulness of their masses, the loftiness of their walls, and the boldness of their towering peaks, we had the architecture of nature revealed to us in all its grandeur and majesty. The general impression of the scene was so overpowering, that it was exceedingly difficult for us, for some considerable time, to fix our attention on its component parts. Still, we made the effort. Looking to the north-west, we saw a small portion of the sea of Suez at the base of the mountains, Deráj and Atákah, on the Egyptian side; and nearer to us, in the same direction, part of the peaks and shoulders of Serbál, and other mountains contiguous to Wádí Feirán and Mukatteb. To the north of us, overlooking the sandy plain of Ramlah or Hadhrah, (Hazeroth,) we had the long range of Jebel Tíh, with its dark summits and white flanks crossing the peninsula, and sending out several secondary ridges into the great

and terrible wilderness in which the children of Israel so long wandered under the curse of the divine displeasure, but miraculously supported by the divine grace and bounty. To the south-east we had before us a portion of the sea of Akabah, with its deep blue surface, with the island of Tírán, the largest in these parts, and some of its neighbours of smaller dimensions, lying at its entrance. Beyond these, we had the lofty mountains of Arabia, near and above Mowílah, bounding our horizon. Restricting our vision, we had apparently quite close to us Jebel Káthern, with its two conical summits resting on a considerable platform, and outpeering the eminence on which we ourselves stood, as well as all the neighbouring heights. Looking over the gash in our own mountain in which stands the chapel of Elijah, which we had noticed in our ascent, we had a very distinct view of the hinder part of the remarkable peaks which we had seen fronting the valley of er-Ráhah, in which the Israelites were encamped before the Lord. In the direct line, they seemed to be not more than a mile distant from us. No part of this valley itself was visible; but the opening formed for it by the mountains which surround it, and the summits of these mountains, were perfectly discernible. We looked down distinctly on Jebel ed-Deir, close on the convent, and the Jebel Salíb, or the summit of Monájah behind, surmounted by the cross. Of many striking objects and configurations of rock and mountain in this wonderful panorama, our guides were unable, or unwilling, to tell us the names.[1]

[1] Dr. Robinson seems either to have been in an unhappy humour, or to have had a somewhat mirky atmosphere, when he stood on the heights of Jebel Músá. "My first and predominant feeling when upon this summit," he says, "was that of disappointment." "Indeed," he adds, "in almost every respect the view from this point is confined."—(Vol. i. pp. 154, 155.) It is quite right in him to give us his own impressions, and to describe the extent of the prospect which he happened to have. But why should he unnecessarily make insinuations about the truthfulness of other travellers? "Yet Laborde," he says in a note, "*pro-*

The view from Jebel Músá is all, and more, than I have represented it to be. The power of the historical associations of the spot must depend, to a considerable extent, on the conclusion at which the traveller may arrive as to its connexion with holy writ. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, and particularly by Dr. Robinson in his able work, we could find no sufficient reason for opposing the ecclesiastical and local tradition of about fifteen centuries, according to which it is the very spot where the Lord condescended to commune face to face with his servant Moses. The tradition now referred to—to which I attach very little intrinsic value, because, as far as it is historically certified to us, it stops far short of the time of the giving of the law—I consider to be in strict accordance with the inferences which the Scripture narrative suggests.

When the Israelites were "departed from Rephidim, and had come to the desert of Sinai," they pitched in the wilderness, and camped before the mount.[1] This mount is frequently, in the notices of the solemn transactions which

*fesses* to have seen from it Serbál, Um Shaumer, and the mountains of Africa beyond. It must have been '*with the mind's eye.*' A similar *exaggerated* account is given by Russeger. Rüppell correctly remarks, 'The prospect from the peak of Sinai is limited in the east, south, and west by higher mountains, and only towards the north one looks out over a widely extended landscape.'" As a partial commentary on this extract from Rüppell, for the accuracy of which Robinson vouches, I would give the following sentence from the Doctor's own text:—"In the same direction, (S.E.) is seen the route to Sharm; and beyond, a portion of the gulf of 'Akabah, and the little island Tírân . . . the mountains beyond it (the gulf of 'Akabah) are seen."—Biblical Res., vol. i. p. 155. There is no mistake, as far as we could judge, in what Laborde says about the extent of the view, except in as far as Umm Shaumer, which is hid by the intervention of Jebel Káthcrín, is concerned. Burckhardt, while he mentions the prevalence of a fog, as observed by Dr. R., says, "The view from this summit must be very grand."—Travels in Syria, p. 566. How grand and extensive it is, may be understood, in some degree, by an inspection of the accurate panoramic view of it by Bernatz, the companion of Shubert, in the "Bilder aus dem Heiligen Lande," published at Stuttgart in 1839.

[1] Exod. xix. 2.

followed, called "Mount Sinai." It is also called "the mount Horeb."[1] It was, then, a distinctive mountain which gave rise to these names, however much they may have been extended to the district in which it was situated. The camp of the Israelites would require such a space before the mountain as we have only before the present Horeb, or Sinai; and we consequently fix on Wádí Ráḥah as the site of that camp. Now, how does the narrative of the transactions connected with the mount proceed?

"Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God, and they stood at the nether part of the mount; and Mount Sinai was *altogether on a smoke*, (not one of its pinnacles only, we may suppose, but all its summits,) because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the *whole mount* quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai on the top of the mount; and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go down; charge the people, lest they break through unto the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish. . . . So Moses went down unto the people and spake unto them, and God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God, &c. . . . And all the people saw the thunderings and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they removed and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die. And Moses said unto the people, Fear not, for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not. And the people stood afar off; and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was."[2] "And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord, thou and Aaron, Nadub and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off," (on some elevation of the mountain short of its summit.) "And Moses alone shall come near the Lord; but they shall not come nigh, neither shall the people go up with him. . . . Then went up Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and they saw" (when on the elevation to which the attendants were permitted to ascend) "the God of Israel; and there was under his feet, as it were, a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God and did eat and drink. And the Lord said unto Moses, come up to me into the mount, and be there; and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments, which I have written, that thou mayest teach them. And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua; and Moses went up into the mount of God. And he said unto the elders" (when leaving them) "tarry ye here for us, till we come again to you. . . . And Moses

[1] Gen. xxxiii. 6. [2] Exod. chap. xix. and xx.

went up into the mount; and a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days; and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount," (rising, it may have been, from its whole crown and pinnacles,) "in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount, and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights."[1] "And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for *as for* this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings, which *are* in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring *them* unto me. And all the people brake off the golden earrings which *were* in their ears, and brought *them* unto Aaron. And he received *them* at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These *be* thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw *it*, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow *is* a feast to the Lord. And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt-offerings, and brought peace-offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted *themselves:* they have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These *be* thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."[2] "And Moses turned and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand. . . . And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, there is a noise of war in the camp. And he said it is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome, that I hear; but the voice of them that sing do I hear." (When thus down from the mount they were at a distance from the camp.) "And it came to pass that as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hand beneath, or under the front of the mount."[3]

Such is the narrative of Scripture connected with the glorious appearance of God to his servant Moses and the people of Israel. I have quoted it at present, with the view of our humbly looking to the inferences which it leads us to form as to the comparative claims of Jebel Músá, and one of the front peaks of Mount Sinai, or Horeb, as the top of the

[1] Exodus xxiv.
[2] Exodus xxxii. 1-8.
[3] Exodus xxxii. For the renewal of the tables, see Exodus xxxiv.

Mount, where Moses met with God. This I shall do, with particular reference to the reasonings of Dr. Robinson on the subject, which I give in his own words, marking in italics, however, some expressions to which I shall have occasion particularly to advert in my brief comment.

"While the monks were here [at the chapel of the Virgin of the zone on Horeb] employed in lighting tapers and burning incense, we determined to scale the *almost inaccessible peak of es-Sufsâfeh* before us, in order to look out upon the plain, and judge for ourselves as to the adaptedness of this part of the mount to the circumstances of the scriptural history. This cliff rises *some five hundred feet* above the basin; and the distance to the summit is *more than half a mile.* We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course; but found the rock *so smooth and precipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine, by a more northern and circuitous course.* From the head of this ravine, we were able to *climb around the face of the northern precipice, and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite* by the weather during the lapse of ages, which give to this part, as seen from below, the appearance of architectural ornament.

"The *extreme difficulty, and even danger of the ascent,* was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain, er-Râhah, lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent Wadys and mountains; while Wady esh-Sheikh on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with, and opening broadly from, er-Râhah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here, or on some one of the *adjacent cliffs,* [in the front of Horeb,] *was the spot where the Lord descended in fire, and proclaimed the law.* Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be

assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden; and here *the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard, when the Lord 'came down, in the sight of all the people, upon Mount Sinai.'* We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene; and read, with a feeling that will never be forgotten, the sublime account of the transaction and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words, as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator."[1]

This peak of Ṣafṣáfah, so difficult and dangerous of ascent, or some one of the adjacent spots equally difficult and dangerous, Dr. Robinson considers "*the spot* where the Lord descended in fire, and proclaimed the law." But is not the very difficulty and peril of the ascent of this locality, a reason for supposing that Moses may have gone into the cloud to God at some other part of the mountain more accessible? Considering the majesty and glory of the appearance of God, on the occasion of his advent at the giving of the law, is there any occasion for our maintaining that it was on the "mountain brow," in front, "where alone the lightning and the thick cloud would be visible," to the exclusion of any of its pinnacles behind the brow, like Jebel Músá, over which the cloud and the lightnings might rise, when God descended in fire, as well as rest, so as to be there seen by every person in the plain of Ráḥah, as well as on the brow of the mountain, and over much of its face, which might all be enveloped with the cloud, and the glory ascending like devouring fire? Is it warrantable for us to make the limitations which Dr. Robinson's statement sets forth? "Mount Sinai," we are told by Moses, "was altogether on a smoke because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended

[1] Exod. xix. 9-25; xx. 1-21. Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 157, 158.

as the smoke of a furnace." Is it right to measure the thunders and the voice of the trump, so far as to point to a place where alone they could be heard by the camp of the Israelites? So great were the thunders, that, as we are told by Moses, "the whole mountain quaked greatly," and so powerful was the voice of the trump of God, that it was "exceeding loud, so that all the people in the camp trembled." "The Lord called Moses up to the *top* of the mount, and Moses went up." Jebel Músá is the highest peak of the mount, and at the same time the most accessible; and is it not, then, too much to say that "there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had any thing to do with the summit which now bears his name?"[1] "It is three miles distant from the plain on which the Israelites must have stood," says Dr. Robinson. According to our estimate—and the plan executed by Professor Russeger entirely agrees with it—it is only about one geographical mile in the straight line; and though double that in the line of descent, there is nothing in its position incompatible with the divine narrative. There is in it, in fact, something remarkably in accordance with that narrative. Moses, it is to be noted, seems, when on the mount of communion, to have been not only beyond the inspection of the camp, but altogether removed beyond the reach of the sound of its idolatrous shouts, and consequently at a distance from Ṣafṣáfah, from which the Israelites could have been both seen and heard. "The Lord said unto me," writes Moses, "Arise, get thee down quickly from hence; for the people which thou hast brought forth out of Fgypt have corrupted themselves: they are quickly turned out of the way which I commanded them; they have made them a molten image."[2] It was not till Moses and Joshua "turned and went down from the mount," that

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 154. [2] Deut. ix. 12.

they had their personal attention directed to the noise in the camp; and they were then at such a distance from the camp that they were at a loss to come to an understanding about the nature of the noise; and it was not till they had advanced, and "come nigh unto the camp," that they "saw the calf and the dancing." When thus nigh unto the camp, they were not farther advanced than the front base of Horeb; for Moses "cast the tables out of his hand beneath (or under) the mount." All this is exactly what would be the case in their descending from Jebel Músá, by the usual track, to the site of the convent, where, according to the theory which we now propound, they would first hear the confused shouts of the multitude, reaching them through the small vale of Sh'ueib, and on their advancing through that defile to the Wádí Ráḥah, where they would be both nigh unto the camp, and beneath the mountain. If Moses stood on Ṣafṣáfah, he must have distinctly heard the idolatrous shouts of the people in the vale below, before commencing his descent; and he and Joshua could not be said to have got down from the mount till they had arrived at the bottom of the descending ravine of el-Lejáh, at the western side of Horeb, and were close on the camp.

These remarks I submit, not, as I have already hinted, with a view to vindicating the tradition relative to Jebel Músá, about which I am almost altogether indifferent, but with a view to comparing the sacred narrative with the actual localities of Mount Sinai. It is so consistent with these, in the minute circumstances to which I have referred, that at Sinai we could not resist seeing what appeared to us new proofs of the authenticity and credibility of that narrative. When we stood on the pinnacle of Jebel Músá, we all thought that we might be on, or near, the spot where Moses received the tables of the law; and that in the hollow of the shoulder of

the mount below us, where stands the chapel of Elijah, or in its neighbourhood, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and the seventy elders may have stood, when, after ascending a portion of the mountain, they saw the personal manifestation of the God of Israel, and worshipped afar off. The belief which we had, with its wondrous associations, tended, I trust, to solemnize our minds. On any part of the summits of Sinai, however, we could not, and would not, have divested ourselves of these associations. We sought to yield to their influence. The whole scene before us seemed in itself so terrific and sublime, that it appeared to us as if formed by Omnipotence, and selected by Omniscience, for the express purpose of being the platform from which His holy, and righteous, and good law, so immovable in its foundations, exceeding broad in its requisitions, and terrible in its sanctions, could be most advantageously proclaimed to the children of men. "God," said Moses to the Israelites, "is come to prove you, that his *fear* may be before your faces, that ye sin not." The very locality itself inspires fear. For a considerable time, we gave ourselves, in the view of it, to meditation and prayer, and the perusal of the Divine Word. Some of us read the words of the law in the language in which it was delivered; and never, perhaps, before were we so struck with its reasonableness, authority, comprehensiveness, and holiness, as requiring the recognition, worship, and service of the only God, with the love of the whole heart, and the cultivation of respect, mercy, purity, honesty, truth, and contentment, in all our desires and dealings connected with our fellow-men. Shall I add, that our own consciences *condemned* us, in the view of its requisitions; and that, even while we prayed that they might be engraved on the fleshly tablets of our hearts, we turned our eyes from Sinai to Calvary that we might have hope? On the sacri-

ficial altar of God alone we could see the law vindicated and magnified, and mercy and grace revealed.

I remained about three hours on the summits of Jebel Músá, and Mr. Sherlock even longer. We were glad to find that the monk who had been appointed our guide, had made some provision for our refreshment, after our fatigue and exposure. "Consedentes fecimus collationem, ut ad residuos labores essemus expeditiores." Mr. Smith kindly agreed to attempt to reach the peak of Ṣafṣáfah on the front of Horeb, to which I have now referred in connexion with the conclusions of Dr. Robinson; and he set out with this object in view before we left the opposite height. He ran down from us to the chapel of Elijah in about twelve minutes. From that place we directed him, in an almost straight line to the eminence which he wished to reach, by calling aloud to him from Jebel Músá. He found the way extremely rough and difficult, though he kept as much as possible along the course of a mountain furrow, coming from the side of Ṣafṣáfah itself. When he got to the base of the pinnacle, he literally climbed it on all-fours in a serpentine line. He succeeded, in about three quarters of an hour, from the time he left us, in accomplishing the object of his ambition; but this, as he afterwards stated to us, with considerable peril. It is remarkable, that we could distinctly hear the call of one another from the respective heights on which we stood. Judging from this fact, and from the eye, I should think that the distance in the direct line is not much, if anything, above one geographical line as given in Russeger's plan. According to Dr. Robinson's it is fully two. Mr. Smith thought, when on Ṣafṣáfah that the plain of er-Ráḥah must have been admirably fitted for the encampment of the Israelites, on the occasion of the giving of the law, though adverting to the difficulty which he had in reaching this peak, and some of the others to the east of it, which he afterwards

scaled, he did *not* think it probable that it was immediately over that valley that Moses went before the Lord.[1]

We got to the convent by the same road that we had ascended to Jebel Músá, a little after sunset. Some of the kind-hearted monks expressed their satisfaction with our safe return, without, however, manifesting any sympathy with the emotions which the scenes which we had witnessed were fitted to excite. I found that Mordecai, my Jewish friend from India, on complaining to them of the cold which he felt in the convent, had, in our absence, been treated to a

[1] I much regret that Mr. Smith's memoranda connected with his ascent of these peaks, which he surveyed, perhaps, more minutely than any other traveller in modern times, are extremely brief. Writing to Mr. Wright of Bombay, he says, "We all, of course, ascended Jebel Músá, or Sinai—to its very summit, which is disfigured by two small chapels, built by, I know not whom, nor have patience to find out. The puny works of man are in miserable, pitiful contrast—especially in such a place—with the sublime works of nature. One of our party was knocked up,—he, strange to say, fresh from England,—in consequence of the rarefaction of the air. Dr. W. and I stood it well, it being—as far as rarefaction is concerned—nearer our Indian climate. We felt as we ascended, a delightful exhilaration of spirits. The top was covered in many places with snow, which I had not seen for eleven years, nor Dr. Wilson for fifteen! We had a race up the hill to try who should first reach it—much to the amusement of our English friends—to whom it was by no means such a rarity. Strange that the first snow we should have seen for so long a period should have been on the summit of Sinai! The view from the top—the very *summit* remember—for I think you were under the impression that it was inaccessible, is very grand—on all sides utter, awful desolation. No one, I think, can doubt that Jebel Músá is the real Sinai,—with the Bible in his hands every thing appears to correspond, and be consistent in itself. I traversed the whole range, for there are several peaks and ridges of the same kind of rock, granite."

Referring to the rarefaction of the atmosphere on Jebel Músá, I may give the following measurements of its height above the level of the sea.

Rüppell, 7035 Paris feet.
Schubert 7026 „
Russeger, 7097 „

Captain Moresby states that it is "3000 feet above the monastery." Speaking in round numbers, however, it is only about 2000.

"By observations on the top of the mountain," says Captain Moresby, "with an artificial horizon, it is in latitude 28° 31′ N. and long. 34° 5′ E." The correction in the longitude alluded to above, p. 12, merely requires to be here made.—See Rüppell's 'Reise' in Abyssinia, vol. i. pp. 118, 124, in Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 153; Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, vol. ii. p. 311; Sailing Directions for Red Sea, p. 118.

potation of the spirit called Arak, made from the sugar of the date, and that being totally unaccustomed to such a beverage, he had become well-nigh intoxicated. When I rebuked him for his inconsideration, in accepting what was sure to prove injurious, the fathers made an apology for him, declaring the interest which they felt in the visit of a descendant of Abraham. I was gratified to find that they thus professed themselves to be above the prejudices which I observed in some other monasteries, whose inmates seemed to regard every Jew with spiteful hate.

Notwithstanding the fatigues of the day, some of us sat up to midnight writing out our notes, that we might witness the devotions of the monks, when they might assemble for worship in the great church of the convent. At twelve o'clock, the call to prayers was sounded, first by ringing a bell, and then by beating with a mallet a piece of wood suspended by a chain.[1] The church was but dimly illuminated, one or two of the many lamps only being lighted; and now and then a poor monk entered, until about eleven of them—the third part of the whole compliment—were found at their places. The service, which was read with great rapidity and irreverence, I notice in another connexion. It lasted about an hour.

On the 22d February, the occupations of our little band were very diverse. Two of my friends ascended Jebel Káthérín, from which, owing to a haze in the atmosphere, they had not such a magnificent prospect as is generally enjoyed. They went by the usual way, emerging from the valley of the convent at the head of Wádí Sheikh, going along the front of Horeb, ascending the ravine of el-Lejáh, which forms on its western side the boundary between it and Jebel Ḥamr,

[1] The monks seem to have had various devices for summoning to worship. Breydenbach says that they did not ring bells, but make a sound by striking iron rings.

as the valley of the convent does on its eastern; and then climbing up by a circuitous path from Erbáin, or the convent of the Forty Martyrs, and visiting the rock said to have been struck by Moses, onwards to Jebel Káthorín itself, they accomplished the ascent in about three hours.[1] They noticed in el-Lejáh the Sinaite inscriptions which are given by Burck-

[1] Rüppell makes Jebel Káthorín 8063 Paris feet above the level of the sea. Ut sup. p. 228. Breydenbach who crossed over to the convent of the Forty Martyrs from the chapel of Elijah, ("per viam, periculosam, terribilem, et saltuosam,") gives an extremely graphic account of his ascent of Jebel Káthorín, (called by him "Synai," but not confounded by him with the mount of Moses, to which he gives the name of Oreb,) and of the reverence of his party for the traditions respecting the virgin and martyr Catherine. "Venimus ad monasterium ad XL sanctos nuncupatum, ubi modica facta pausatione montem Synai per viam adhuc longe asperiorem et duriorem ascendimus per invias crepidines, per scopulos perruptos, per petras superpendentes, per horribiles saltus, perque precipites clivos, per intensissimos desuper solis ardores, hoc vero solum habuimus refrigerium, et duos in tali ascensu fontes repperimus aquam frigidam continentes unde refocillabamur.

"Porro cum jam pene in cacumen venissemus, repperimus collum montis adeo tortuosum ac longum que obstupuimus, nec alia erat nobis via. Itaque per scopulos nos sursum traximus. Atque multos post labores et sudores in summitate montis pervenimus. Erat autem dies XXV Septembris. Igitur ad locum illum sanctissimum accedentes in quem angeli gloriose virginis et martyris Katherine corpus ex Alexandria detulerunt, in quo etiam loco per trecentos jacuit annos sub angelicis excubiis; donec scilicet cuidam abbati fuit revelatum: ut corpus sacrum inde tollens ad monasterium ubi jam est transferret: cum ingenti letitia et exultatione atque devotione, nos ibidem prostravimus, ipsum deosculantes, immo nos totos in locum sacri corpusculi injicientes: eidem corpora nostra commensuravimus. Est autem locus ille talis dispositionis. Mons Oreb et mons ille Synai suis cacuminibus per grande distinguuntur intervallum: sub radicibus conjunguntur. At in eorum medio prefatum monasterium XL. sanctorum est collocatum. Verum cacumen montis Synai ubi virgo beata Katherina ut dictum est fuit deportata manibus angelicis, multum excedit cacumen montis Oreb, sed et cuncta montium cacumina per circumitum ejus. In summitate autem illius saxosa quædam extat planicies, impressionem habens corporis humani non ferro iuscisam nec arte aliqua factam: sed ipsa solidissima petra in modum cere mollis se prebuit ad contactum corporis sacri formidabilem. Sunt et ibidem ex utroque latere sepulchri, alie quædam impressiones, signa angelice custodie per se ferentes, qui ab hoc sacro corpusculo creduntur nunquam discessisse. In hoc ut dixi loco supra quam credi potest gaudio afficiebamur, pro eoque in extremo nostre longissime et laboriose peregrina-

hardt and other travellers, including those above Erbâín, which were observed by Dr. Robinson.[1] I spent the greater part of the day in the valley er-Ráḥah, in the front of Sinai, and the heads of the other valleys which take their rise at it, or run into its corners. I selected a spot in Wádí er-Ráḥah, in the front of Sinai, from which a characteristic view of Sinai and some of the adjacent mountains completing the view in its front, could be taken by O'Brien, and there set him to work.[2] From the point from which his drawing was made, the centre of Sinai or Horeb, bore S.S.E.; Jebel Monájah, supposed by Lord Lindsay to be the mountain of Moses rising in the valley of the convent bearing S.E. and Jebel ed-Deir, opposite the convent on the east, bearing E.S.E. While he was busy with his pencil, I made various measurements with a view to ascertain the size of the

tionis: atque sumptuose termino constituti: nil nobis restare noveramus, nisi que ad patrium solum faciem nostram (deo propicio aliquando perventuri) converteremus . . . Insuper in regione que erat inter mare rubrum et montem Synai locus nobis demonstrabatur, in quo sanctorum virorum monasterium fertur esse, quod modernis temporibus nemo potest invenire, quarumvis campanarum pulsus ad omnes horas canonicas ibi quotidie audiatur. Dixerunt tamen quidam arabes se in eo fuisse, sed mox ut exierunt viam et monasterium perdidisse. Nonnulli etiam ex fratribus monasterii sanctæ Katherine conati sunt illud exquirere, qui dicunt se sonum quidem audivisse campanarum, sed monasterium ipsum minime invenisse."—Breydenbach, fol. 74. In the last part of this notice, reference is evidently made to Jebel Nákús, or the "Mountain of the Bell," noticed in another part of this work.

[1] The discovery of these last mentioned inscriptions has considerable importance, for Burckhardt, who did not notice them, has said,—"It is to be observed, that none of these inscriptions are found higher up the valley than the water rock, being all upon blocks on the way from thence to the convent, which seems to be a strong proof that they were inscribed by those persons only who came from the convent or from Cairo to visit the rock, and not by pilgrims in their way to the mountain of Moses, or of St. Catherine, who would, undoubtedly, have left some record further up the valley, and more particularly upon the sides and summits of the mountains themselves; but I could there find no inscriptions whatever, although I examined the ground closely, and saw many smooth blocks by the road, very suitable to such inscriptions."—Travels in Syria, p. 583.

[2] See accompanying lithograph.

valley of er-Ráḥah, in order that I might form an opinion, on my personal observation, of its capability, or otherwise, of accommodating the camp of the Israelites. Its average breadth from the water-shed in its middle to the front of Horeb, exclusive of the recesses at the two corners of Horeb, I found to be 700 paces. Dr. Robinson makes it 900 at the water-shed, 2333 yards from the front of Horeb. Its length, judged of from the time I occupied in traversing it, an hour and a-half, the exact time specified by Burckhardt,[1] I estimated at three geographical miles. Dr. Robinson makes it two. Monconys reckons it at a league and a-half in length, and a good quarter of a league in breadth.[2] North of the water-shed, it gradually contracts so much, that I do not think its average breadth there can be reckoned at more than 400 yards. If any person think this extent of ground insufficient for the camp of the Israelites, he will find an ample supplement in Wádí Sheikh, which rises from it at its south-eastern corner. There is a large insular mass of granite in the mouth of Wádí Sheikh, occupying a good deal of space, which I have not seen noticed; but it would not break the continuity of the camp if it extended in this direction. The front of Horeb is not visible, after this mass of rock is passed, as we go down Wádí Sheikh for the first mile, though its summits are to some extent perceptible, as they are very distinct at a greater distance down that valley. Er-Ráḥah, I may add, has a gentle slope from its middle toward the front of Horeb and mouth of the Wádí Sheikh. There are occasional inequalities on its surface, and masses of red granite, and of Sinaite, if I may so call the fine white granite of this district, occasionally protrude. One of these boulders, close to Sinai, and half-buried in the ground, and called the Rás el-Baḳarah, is pointed to as the stone in which the golden calf was moulded

[1] Travels in Syria, p. 596.

[2] Journal des Voyages, tom. i. p. 214.

by Aaron and the Israelites. At the corner of Horeb is a spot, where it is said Moses threw down, and broke, the tables of the law. These traditions prove, that at the time they originated, the valley of er-Rāḥah was reckoned to be that in which the Israelites were encamped.

The rock said to have supplied the Israelites with water, when smitten by Moses, occurs, as already mentioned, on the track to the summit of Mount Catherine.[1] It is in the narrow and rocky defile of el-Lejāh. It is about twelve feet in height, of a cubical, or rather irregular shape, with various apertures and fissures, partly natural and partly artificial. When it was first connected with the miracle recorded in Scripture, we do not learn. As remarked by Lord Lindsay, Baldensel in 1336, says that the water produced by the rod of Moses, is "in the monastery." Maundeville, a few years earlier, says, "Before the zett is the well where Moses smote the stone of the which the water came out plenteously." Breydenbach, in 1483, describes the rock in el-Lejāh, and associates the miracle with it.[2] The Bible affords us no data for precisely fixing the position of the smitten rock. It is merely mentioned as "*the rock* in *Horeb*;" and it was consequently probably contiguous to, or a part of Sinai. It is too seldom borne in mind, that, though the Israelites were supplied with water from the rock when they were stationed at Rephidim, there is nothing in the Scripture narrative which should lead us to suppose that the rock was in the immediate neighbourhood of that place. "The Lord said unto Moses, *Go on before the people*, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smo-

[1] See above, p. 229.

[2] "Invenissimusque ad radices montis petram Oreb, ubi Moises percussit virga bis scilicet, et egressæ sunt aquæ largissimæ in duodecim locis petræ, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel. Est autem petra illa singularis, nulli coherens monti, sed proprium faciens coagulum: in majoris miraculi signum." Breydenbach, fol. 74.

test the river, take in thine hand and go: behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb, and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the *elders of Israel.*"[1] "The rock in Horeb" may have been selected in preference to any other rock at hand, just because the call of Moses to his mission, and the miracle of the burning-bush, had already been associated with that district or particular mountain, and because greater signs and wonders were about to be exhibited at it in connexion with the giving of the law. The water of the smitten rock was probably that which was alluded to by Moses, when he said, "I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, and ground it very small, even until it was as small as dust; and I cast the dust thereof into the *brook that descended out of the mount.*"[2] The water may have flowed to the Israelites when encamped at Rephidim, at the distance of miles from the rock, as the winter torrents do now through the Wádís of Arabia Petræa. In fact, the language of the Psalmist would lead us to conclude that this was actually the case. "He clave the rocks in the wilderness, and gave them drink as out of the great depths. He brought streams also out of the rocks, and caused waters to run down like rivers."[3] The rock, too, may have been smitten at such a height, and at a place bearing such a relation to the Sinaitic valleys, as to furnish in this way supplies of water to the Israelites during the first of their journeyings "from Horeb, by the way of Mount Seir, and Kadesh-Barnea."[4] On this supposition,

[1] Exod. xvii. 5, 6.

[2] Deut. ix. 21.

[3] Psalm lxxviii. 15, 16.

[4] Deut. i. 1.—This text, which indicates the general course of the Israelites after leaving Sinai, is properly given in our translation as a parenthesis. It is preceded by the introduction of the book of Deuteronomy, "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan, in the wilderness, in the

new light is, perhaps, cast on the figurative language of the Apostle, when he speaks of the "rock following" the Israelites.[1] On this supposition also, we see a reason why the rock should have been smitten to yield a large supply to flow to a distance, even though springs and small rills might have been found pre-existent in Sinai. I shall afterwards have occasion to advert to this idea in connexion with a notice of the probable site of Rephidim.

In the evening I ascended, with some of my friends, to the summit of Jebel Monájah, lying in a somewhat insular position between Jebel ed-Deir and Horeb, behind the convent. There is no great difficulty in this achievement. The rock of this hill, as is apparent even at a distance, is quite different from that of the mountains by which it is surrounded. It is of porphyry, covered here and there with debris, in which a considerable quantity of chlorite appears, and not, as stated by Lord Lindsay, "a sheet of dark sun-burnt granite."[2] The path leading to Sharm, near Rás Muhammad, the most southern promontory of the peninsula, where the Red Sea divides into the gulfs of Suez and Akabah, passes over its south-eastern flank. A cross is planted on its highest peak. Were I dissatisfied with Jebel Músá as the probable "mount of communion," I should be disposed

plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab." Burckhardt, probably misled by the expression Red *Sea*, which is not in the original—for the word used there is only סוּף Suph identifies Dizahab with Dahab on the coast of the gulf of 'Akabah, directly east of Mount Sinai. Travels in Syria, p. 523. In this he is followed by Dr. Robinson, as may be seen from his excellent map of the peninsula of Mount Sinai. It is obvious, however, that Moses writes of a plain on the *east* of the Wádí 'Arabah, and on which Tophel, identified as the "Tafyle" (Tafeilah) of Burckhardt, lying between Bozrah and Kerak, occurs. The Hazeroth here mentioned must be different from the Hazeroth at which the Israelites encamped after leaving the "desert of Sinai," and pitching at Kibroth-hataavah, (Numbers xxxiii. 16,) and the identification of which we shall have occasion immediately to notice.

[1] 1 Cor. x. 4.

[2] Letters on the Holy Land, vol. i. p. 301.

to acquiesce in the theory modestly propounded by Lord Lindsay, and suggested to him by his fellow-traveller, Mr. Wardlaw Ramsay, that it was on this mount that the Lord especially descended in fire. A great part of the Wádí Ráḥah is visible from it, as we look through the ravine of the convent; and the bold peaks of the mountains Jebel el-Ghabshah and Jebel Ṣalṣal-Zeit bounding that Wádí to the left, and of Jebel Fareià bounding it to the right, are seen to great advantage.

On the third day of our residence at Mount Sinai, I went again to the Wádí er-Ráḥah. After inspecting the progress made in the drawing of our artist, I proceeded, with the help of some of the Jebelíyah who were attending me, to make a collection of some of the different plants which are found in that valley in the beginning of spring. The species which we were successful in finding, were not so numerous as I expected them to be, not more than thirty. I carefully noted their Arabic names, with a view to compare them with the Hebrew name of the plants mentioned in Scripture. All of them, I believe, have been delineated or described by Forskal, and other botanists who have travelled in these parts. There are many plants growing in the adjoining mountains, which I did not find below. There is almost an entire destitution of grasses both on these plains and mountains. Where they do occur, they are found merely in single stalks or solitary tufts. A good many camels, including those belonging to our own ḳáfilah, were browsing in the valley, laying hold with equal eagerness of the tender herb and the prickly thorn. A great deal more sustenance for cattle may be found in these parts, than the apparent nakedness of the face of the country leads us, at first view, to suppose. However, if the quantity of vegetation, during the wanderings of the Israelites, was not more abundant than at present, their flocks and herds would require to be widely dispersed in order to

find sustenance. The soil has been probably injured since their day by the continued action of the winter torrents sweeping down the mountain sides, and inundating and scouring the plains without leaving any perceptible quantity of new soil. Perhaps the nomadic tribes, inhabiting the south of the peninsula, acted of old as the Tiyáhah Badawín do in its northern parts at the present day, sow grasses where practicable, and bring plots of ground into partial cultivation. The question of the possibility of the maintenance of the cattle of the Israelites in the desert, did not, on the whole, present itself to us during our journeyings through the great and terrible wilderness as one of great difficulty.

After collecting the plants to which I have alluded, I proceeded to examine the front of Horeb, and the recess at its south-east corner. Along the base of the mountain, in this direction, there is a considerable ledge of rocks, which did not appear to me to be somewhat detached from it, till I mounted upon it for its examination. I was inclined to think that a considerable part of this ledge has fallen from above, as would have been the case had the mountain been shaken by an earthquake. Passing over it, I tried how far I could ascend the mountain, even where it appears to the eye nearly perpendicular. I got up to the height of about 300 feet. Here I found some very beautiful hexagonal crystals of quartz. The smaller ones were in general quite transparent; and the larger ones deeply tinged with a dirty red on the surface. Many of them were quite typical, and perfect in their forms. It was here, I learned, that the Badawín principally procure the crystals which they offer to travellers.[1] The garden noticed by Burckhardt under the name of el-Bostán, or the garden par excellence, is near the

[1] "The crystals are collected by the Arabs in one of the mountains not far distant from the convent, but in which of them I did not learn."—Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 596.

entrance of the recess. It is not so large as that close to the convent; but it is much of the same character. It is watered by a streamlet from the ravine of el-Lejáh, and is under the care of the Jebelíyah, some of whose families reside within it. It is close upon a ruined convent.

The interior of the great convent has been frequently minutely and accurately described; and it is not necessary for me to enlarge on its appearance and various appurtenances, though, in company with my fellow-travellers, I devoted nearly the whole of the fourth day of my residence at Mount Sinai to its inspection. The monastery is literally a fortlet standing upon the slope of the roots of Sinai, surrounded by walls about forty-five feet high, with a few small turrets pierced for muskets, and mounting one or two small pieces of ordnance, and containing a great many erections and apartments, secular and sacred. The cells of the monks, and their various chambers for cooking, eating, and storing their provisions, surround the principal open space in the largest quadrangle, or courtyard. The church of the Transfiguration, originally built by the Emperor Justinian in 527, is the most remarkable of the buildings in the enclosure. Externally, it has nothing striking or imposing; and, indeed, it can scarcely be recognised without as an ecclesiastical building, being merely of the form of an oblong square, with no architectural characteristics. Within, it is seen to be a place of great magnificence. The roof, though not very high, is well laid out, and is supported by a double row of granite pillars, covered, for the sake of variety, with white plaster, and having capitals of a rude imitation of the Corinthian and Egyptian orders. The dome, or alcove, over the altar, represents in Mosaic work the Transfiguration of Christ, with Moses and Elias on each side of him, and the three favoured apostles prostrated before him by the effulgence of his glory. In the circle below are figures of the twelve

apostles, and Luke the Evangelist, and a chief of the monastery, with their names in ancient Greek letters. Along the arch are representations and names of the prophets; and above the whole are the Emperor Justinian, and his wife Theodora, obscurely delineated.[1] In the niche is an inscription, setting forth the ecclesiastical falsehood—by which much has been done in this convent, as elsewhere—that the whole of this representation is for the salvation of those who have contributed to its execution by their gifts. ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΠΡΟϹ Κ[αὶ]ΥΙοΥ και ΑΓΙȣ ΠΝΟϹ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤȣΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ϹΩΤΗΡΙΑϹ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗϹ ΑΝΤων ΕΠΙ ΛΟΓΓΙΝȣ Τȣ ΟϹΙΟΤάτου ΠΡΕϹΒυτερου Καὶ ΗΓȣμένου. "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, all this work has been done for the salvation of those who have offered their gifts under Longinus the most holy presbyter and superior." A multitude of lamps, some of which—the imperial donations of the Greek empire and of Russia—are said to be of solid silver, are suspended from the roof; and antique candelabra, with huge candles, which are seldom lighted, stand before the altar, and in some of the recesses or chapels. The pavement is of black, white, and variegated marble. Numerous pictures, some of which are in frame, and encased in silver, adorn the walls. Some of them are tolerably well executed, though they are all in the "hard Byzantine style," and in excellent preservation. The pulpits and reading-desks are inlaid with mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell. There are many crosses in different parts of the building; and there is a large one, with a picture of the Saviour upon it, on the screen which separates the altar from the nave. The *cui bono* of all these objects and orna-

[1] A correct drawing of all this is given by Laborde. A striking view of the interior of the convent is also given in Roberts's Sketches, by far the most beautiful and accurate delineations of the kind which we have yet had of various scenes in the lands of the Bible.

ments in a place of Christian worship, is a question which others, besides simple Presbyterians like myself, are disposed to urge. They are not merely useless but injurious, as fitted to distract the attention of the worshipper, and to direct his devotion into idolatrous courses.

One of the most sacred places within the church is the tomb of St. Catherine, to visit which was more the object of desire among many of the pilgrims repairing to these parts, than even that of inspecting the interesting localities mentioned in holy writ. The exhibition of her relics was in former times a great source of profit to the monks, and of interest to their simple devotees. Visitors of a certain class regard them with superstitious reverence, even in the present day.[1] Near this spot, there is the silver lid of a sarcophagus,

[1] "And aftre that thei schewen the heed of Seynte Kateryne, and the clothe that sche was wrapped inne, that is zit alle blody. And in that same clothe so y wrapped, the aungeles beren hire body to the Mount Synay, and there thei buryed hire with it."—The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, p. 60. "Die xxvi. mensis Septembris mane surgentes, omnes nos per confessiones et alias devotiones preparavimus ad sacras reliquias in prefato monasterio sancte Katherine videndas. Igitur congregatis nobis omnibus in ecclesiam venit abbas monasterii cum monachis suis, ad tumbam beatissime virginis Katherine multis accensis candelis circumstantes suo more antiphonas quasdam in lingua Greca decantaverunt. Tandem cum difficultate tumba ipsa patefacta, accessit prior abbas ipse et cum reverentia deosculatus est sacrum virginis caput. Divine utique sapientie gazophilatium speciale. Pari modo omnes monachi unus post unum faciebant, quos nos peregrini imitantes ex ordine sequebamur, sacras reliquias deosculantes cum devotione, etiam rebus nostris jocalibus easdem contingentes. De bombice autem in qua sacri corporis membra quiescunt dedit abbas omnibus nobis paululum, quam accipientes animo gratissimo, intinximus in lampadem que in cappella sancte Marie de rubo pendet. Porro tumba ipsa est in dextera parte chori in eminentiori loco posita de marmore candido et polito facta, in qua sacrum virginis caput, due manus, et quedam alia corporis membra, recondita conservantur. Alia vero per mundum variis sunt in ecclesiis dispersa."—Breydenbach, fol. 74. "The body of that saint, I was told, was quite entire sixty years ago. Since then, it has been so often removed, in order to save it from the depredations of the Arabs, and it has suffered so much from damp, that the principal parts only are now left. Those which are shown are the head and a hand, in very good preservation."—Geramb's Pilgrimage to Palestine, vol. ii. p. 325.

where Anne of Russia, it is said, *desired* her body to be deposited.

The "sanctum sanctorum," however, is the "chapel of the burning bush" behind the altar. It is customary to enter it "discalciatis nudisque pedibus pro reverentia loci;" but I objected to take off my shoes, lest I should confirm the monks in a superstitious usage, and in the belief of the identification and intrinsic sanctity of a spot, for the discovery of which there are no data, and for the hallowing of which there is no authority, in the Bible. I was nevertheless permitted to enter it, as was also the Jew who was then my attendant. Two lamps were burning over a small altar suspended from the covering, which was supported by four pillars, and surmounted by a cross. The monk who introduced us to the place prostrated himself before the lamps. He showed us, however, no representation of the bush itself. In this room are a great many pictures and chandeliers. A visit to it, as to the tomb of Saint Catherine, was held by the Romanists and Græcists to be attended with the remission of sins.[1]

A small chapel, said to have been originally built by the mother of pilgrims, the Empress Helena, was pointed out to us in another part of the convent. We did not enter it.[2] Burckhardt says, that he was shown chapels belonging to the Syrians, Armenians, Copts, and Latins; but these have been long abandoned by their owners. The church of the Latins fell into ruins at the close of the seventeenth century, and has not been rebuilt.[3] We saw the mosk, also within the

[1] "Estque ibi plenaria peccatorum remissio sicut et circa tumbam Sancte Catherine."—Breydenbach.

[2] Perhaps some misrepresentation was made to, or mistake committed by, us, about the chapel. Burckhardt says, "Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have erected here a small church .... and in the garden of the convent a small tower is still shown, the foundations of which are said to have been laid by her."—Travels in Syria, p. 544.

[3] Travels in Syria, p. 543.

convent, mentioned by Burckhardt, and which he says the monks told him was built in the sixteenth century; but from Arabic manuscripts in the possession of the monks, he learned that it existed in the fourteenth century. Breydenbach distinctly mentions it in the fifteenth, absurdly enough ascribing its origin to the veneration which the Saracens had for the memory of Saint Catherine.[1]

We spent a considerable time in the library of the convent; and I felt more interest in examining its dusty and confused tomes than I had expected. Burckhardt says it contains fifteen hundred Greek volumes, and seven hundred Arabic manuscripts.[2] I did not think them so numerous. Several works in the Syriac, Hebrew, and other eastern languages, and in the Slavonic and other European tongues, have to be added to this description of its contents. Copies of the Scriptures, Liturgies, Acts of Councils, works of the Fathers, and Lives of Saints, abound in it. I have little doubt that much of an interesting character could be found in its shelves. By the monks, who are mostly illiterate men, not even ecclesiastics of any description, it is almost entirely neglected. They have thrown into it a number of Bibles, offered to them for their own perusal by Joseph Wolff. In the apartments of the Archbishop, the superior,

[1] "Est etiam ibi ecclesia quedam Sarracenorum sive muschkea satis lata et juxta modum eorum pulchra, turrim quandam habens annexam quam Arabes et Sarraceni illo venientes frequentant. Nam et ipsi sanctam venerantur Katherinam, et sepius eam veniunt visitatum."—Breydenbach, fol. 75. Permission was probably first granted by the monks for the erection of this mosk for the conciliation of the Arabs. They seem to have sometimes resorted to very questionable measures in self-defence. They forged an edict in the name of Muhammad himself, promising them protection, which, though its fraud appears exceedingly easy of detection to any one acquainted with the origin of Muhammadanism, passed off as a genuine document with the Sultán Selim, who secured the original, and substituted a duly authenticated copy in the convent. Their practice of distributing bread among the Arabs, which they always do on demand, as we noticed, is an unobjectionable way of gaining the favour of the sons of the desert.

[2] Travels in Syria, p. 551.

when specially requested, showed to us the celebrated manuscript of the four Gospels in Greek, beautifully written on vellum, in double columns, and in large uncial letters of gold, and highly illuminated and ornamented with pictures of the apostles, and other similar devices. We were not able to learn any thing definite respecting its age; and we know not that it has ever been collated. It commences with the Gospel according to John. Along with it, there was shown to us a manuscript Greek Psalter, in a very fine hand, said to have been written by a Byzantine princess. I strongly recommended the superior to make out a catalogue of the books in the library, and to keep them in order; and I advised him to encourage the monks to study the Arabic, that they might be able to instruct the Badawín in the deserts around, and particularly the Jebelíyah, who are their own dependents, and who, though their forefathers were Christians, have been allowed, through neglect, to apostatize to Muhammadism.[1] He took in good part what I said on these subjects; and I entreated him to rest his whole faith and practice on the sure Word of God. I distributed among the monks a few copies of evangelical tracts and small books in the modern Greek language, which was best known to them, as natives of Greece and the Greek islands.

[1] Joseph Wolff, on the authority of a history of the convent presented to him by the superior, says, "Many Christian monks lived around Mount Sinai, either in the caves of rocks, or in tents, a long time before the reign of the Emperor Justinian, but on account of the vexation they frequently had to suffer from the Arabs, they wrote to the Emperor Justinian, to assist them in building a convent. He sent them one thousand (a hundred,) Christians, with wives and children, from Servia, who were called by the Arabs *Sabbian*, from the Arab word Sabé, (boys or slaves,) and other masons came from Matarea, a village near Heliopolis. With their assistance, the convent was built A.D. 527." Wolff's Journal, vol. v. p. 310. Eutychius, or Ibn Batrik, the patriarch of Alexandria, says that the number of slaves sent from Rome (the new Rome) was one hundred, exclusive of their wives and children; and that a similar number were sent from Egypt.—Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 167. His notice of the convent is extracted by Dr. Robinson, and throws much light on its early history.

In connexion with the distribution which I made, I had some interesting conversation with their confessor, a secular priest of considerable information and activity. We had brought a letter to this individual from Kotse Manouli, at Suez; and he gave us letters of introduction to the Greek bishops at Jerusalem. He asked us to procure for him the permission of the patriarch's vicar in the Holy City to go to India, the few Greek missions of which belong to this convent.

The famous cemetery, or charnel-house of the monastery, we did not see till the morning of the day of our departure from Sinai. It is situated in a corner of the garden, the entrance to it being by a door only about two feet in height. The superior, Nicodemus, was our guide to the chambers of the dead, taking the lead of us, and bearing, like ourselves, a lighted taper. The first apartment into which he introduced us was, at its very entrance, a literal Golgotha, "a place of skulls," immense in quantity, and all piled up in regular order. They were part of the mortal remains of the simple friars; and their osseous companions were not far distant from them, but arranged according to their kind, as legs, arms, and so forth. The second apartment was filled with the bones of the secular priests and lay-brothers, which were disposed of as those of the monks, with the exception of bishops and archbishops, and, if we were correctly informed, of one or two patriarchs, whose remains were accommodated in separate boxes. Though no such ecclesiastical dignitaries as those now mentioned are resident at Mount Sinai, individuals of their rank still wish their bones to rest under the shadow of the holy mount. In an uncovered porch before the charnel-house, there are vaults and pits in which the corpses of the monks are usually interred, without coffins, till the flesh mixes with its kindred dust. The bones are afterwards disinhumed. The bodies of a

dwarfish monk (perhaps Saint Onuphrius, whose cell in Horeb used to be pointed out to travellers) and of two other ascetics, are exhibited in a state of desiccation; but even on them time is doing its sure work of destruction. There is nothing peculiarly disgusting in these dungeons of death. They present, however, a most affecting scene. Mr. Stephens, the American traveller, whose sketches are often very graphic and happy, has written about them in rather an extravagant and exaggerated style. One cannot look at the extent of the *disjecta membra* in the different chambers, without seeing that the monastery, and the different places of monkish retirement in its neighbourhood, must have formerly contained a great many more inhabitants than they do at the present day. This is a fact which is certified to us by historical records, and by many of the notices of the olden travellers.

We were glad, after leaving the charnel-house, to breathe the fresh air of the beautiful garden. Here we made our final arrangements with Sheikh Maṭeir for the further prosecution of our journey through the wilderness. Some of our company were desirous to go direct to Hebron; and Mr. Smith and I, though determined to go to Petra, resolved to accompany our friends in the first instance to the south of Judah, particularly as they had counted on the continuance of our companionship, and we valued theirs, and had no special wish to yield to the extravagant demands which Sheikh Ḥusein, of the Ȧlawín Arabs, had lately begun to make on travellers proceeding to Idumea by the way of Ȧḳabah. We were not unwilling, too, to proceed through the great desert, because of the very partial accounts of it which have yet been published. We suggested various routes for him to take to Hebron, as those respectively leading over Jebel Tíh by the passes of Zaláḳah, of Mareikhí, of Warsáh, and of Rakínah. He expressed his decided preference of that of

Mareikhí ; and we gave our consent, even though we feared that it would not prove the shortest. He frankly told us that he expected difficulties with the Tiyáhah, or the Badawín of the Tíh, about the fort of Nakhl in the centre of the desert, and on the Ḥaj route from Cairo to Ákabah. When we had closed with him at the rate of 220 piastres a-camel for Hebron, he told us that he durst not venture to attempt to take us farther than the Bír es-Seb'a, "the Well of the Oath." The very name of this locality, so hallowed in the history of the great patriarch, awakened a thousand romantic associations in our minds ; but, though we determined to include it in our route, we insisted on the sheikh carrying us on our way for a stage beyond it, which would be still one short of Hebron. He then declared, that, with the permission of God, he would take us to Dhahariyah. What actually proved the course of our wanderings, and what various incidents befell us by the way, my gracious reader shall afterwards know.

After we had closed our bargain with the sheikh, and retired to our cells to superintend the packing of our luggage, I was surprised to see the sheikh make his appearance within the convent, as I had always understood that no Arab, except he belong to the Jebelíyah, is on any account permitted to enter its enclosures. He must have got in with the advertence of the monks, for he seemed to be quite at his ease when in the midst of us. Perhaps he had alleged that it was necessary for him to see our luggage before it was lowered down for the camels. As the chief of the Áleikát tribe, he is a *Ghafír ed-Deir*, or protector of the convent, as are the sheikhs of the Awárimah and Dhaheirí. But admission to the convent is not one of the stipulated and recognised privileges of these tribes.

Great confusion and noise above and below occurred in consequence of the lowering of our luggage. While the

monks and Jebelíyah were busily engaged in turning the windlass, we settled with the superior for the kind hospitality which we had enjoyed when under his care. He left us, he said, to give him what we might think equitable for our board ; and we fixed on something lower than the rate at which we had made our payments in the hotels in Cairo. He was, I think, more than satisfied, and he gave us a most humble and reverential salutation, after he counted the golden Gházis which Mr. Smith put into his hands. To some of our special attendants—including Mr. Petros, whom we discovered to be a person entirely *sui generis*—we gave a few small presents. We received the benedictions of all ; and we bade them an affectionate farewell. With some of our number they were objects of admiration, on account of their self-consecration, outward discipline, simplicity, regularity of devotion, and seclusion from the world. Others of us pitied them as monks deprived of their Christian liberty by vows, perhaps as inconsiderately and ignorantly, as improperly and presumptuously, formed, and mourned over their religious apathy, mechanical formality, deplorable superstition, and culpable neglect of the instruction of their fellow-men. We were pleased that we had seen or heard nothing of their conduct inconsistent with personal morality, and gratified by the uniform kindness which they had shown to their guests. May the blessings be yet imparted to them which we desired in their behalf.

The sheikh was about a couple of hours in disposing our luggage on the camels. Owing to the decrease of our provisions, and the consumption of our charcoal since leaving Suez, and greater economy in packing, we reduced their number from forty-five to thirty-eight, two or three of our camel-drivers, with their animals, having previously obtained leave to proceed to their homes. Our first movement on leaving the convent, like that at Cairo, was merely tentative.

After proceeding through the Wádí Sh'ueib, we turned into Wádí Sheikh, which, owing to the insular mass of hill which I have already mentioned, is of no great breadth at its entrance. It afterwards extends to the breadth of half a mile. Passing down Wádí Sheikh for an hour, going almost directly north-east, we pitched at the northern radix of Jebel ed-Deir, at the mouth of the Wádí es-Sebáíyah, which runs round Jebel ed-Deir on the east to the base of Jebel Músá. This was our last encampment in Sinai, or Horeb.

Jebel Monajah.

Jebel Musa from Wadi es-Sabâiyah

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FROM MOUNT SINAI TO THE CENTRE OF THE GREAT DESERT.

25th February.—Last night, it was extremely cold and cutting at this height above the sea, and with the change which we had made from the snug and comfortable convent to our thin tents; and the ground this morning was covered with hoar-frost. Before starting, we examined the opening of Wádí es-Sabâíyah, which we found to be much wider than we had supposed. Mr. Sherlock remained at it for some time, endeavouring to measure it by pacing, and directing our artist in making a sketch of Jebel Músá in the distance, which he took in the valley about a quarter of an hour from its entrance, Jebel Músá pointing S.S.W. This sketch I submit to my readers in a reduced form, as it gives a much better idea of the mountains and pinnacles which it includes

than any description in words. Part of the encampment of the Israelites at the giving of the law, might be in this valley, and in the contiguous parts of Wádi esh-Sheikh, as well as in Wádí er-Ráḥah, if the last mentioned valley, where the body of them doubtless was, was found too small for their accommodation.

Starting on our journey, we proceeded through Wádí Sheikh, inclining a little more to the north than we had done last night. The view of the mountain barriers on each side of us, rising from 500 to 1000 feet, and terminating in culminating peaks, was remarkably interesting. Here and there we had a tolerable pasturage for the desert, of herbaceous and ligneous plants, grass being altogether wanting.

After we had made an hour's progress, we arrived at the tomb of Sheikh Ṣaleḥ, which has been brought to particular notice by Burckhardt, whose account, as well as that of Dr. Robinson, I beg here to introduce:—

BURCKHARDT, p. 489.

"In the afternoon, we crossed the mountain by a bypath, fell again into the Wady el Sheikh, and at the end of eight hours from our setting out in the morning, reached the tomb of Sheikh Szaleh (مقام سيدنا صالح) from which the whole valley takes its name. The coffin of the Sheikh is deposited in a small *rude stone* building; and is surrounded by a thin partition of wood, hung with green cloth, upon which several prayers are embroidered. On the walls are suspended silk tassels, handkerchiefs, ostrich-eggs, camel halters, bridles, &c., the offerings of the Bedouins, who visit this tomb. I could not learn exactly the history of this Sheikh Szaleh: some said that he was the forefather of the tribe of Szowaleha; others the great Moslem prophet Szaleh, sent to the

ROBINSON, vol. i. p. 215.

"After another hour we passed the mouth of the small Wady el-Mukhlefeh, which enters from the right, and came immediately (at 3¼ o'clock) to the tomb of the Sheikh Sâlih, one of the most sacred spots for the Arabs in all the peninsula. It is merely a small *rude hut of stones*, in which the coffin of the saint is surrounded by a partition of wood, hung with cloth, around which are suspended handkerchiefs, camels' halters, and other offerings of the Bedawîn. The history of this saint is uncertain; but our Arabs held him to be the progenitor of their tribe, the Sawâlihah; which is not improbable. Once a year, in the latter part of June, all the tribes of the Táwarah make a pilgrimage to this tomb, and encamp around it for three days. This is their great festival. We dismounted

tribe of Thamoud, and who is mentioned in the Koran; and others, again, that he was a local saint, which I believe to be the truth. Among the Bedouins, this tomb is the most revered spot in the peninsula, next to the mountain of Moses; they make frequent vows to kill a sheep in honour of the Sheikh, should a wished-for event take place; and if this happens, the votary repairs to the tomb with his family and friends, and there passes a day of conviviality. Once in every year all the tribes of the Towara repair hither in pilgrimage, and remain encamped in the valley round the tomb for three days. Many sheep are then killed, camel races are run, and the whole night is passed in dancing and singing. The men and women are dressed in their best attire. The festival, which is the greatest among these people, usually takes place in the latter part of June, when the Nile begins to rise in Egypt, and the plague subsides; and a caravan leaves Sinai immediately after for Cairo. It is just at this period, too, that the dates ripen in the valleys of the lower chain of Sinai; and the pilgrimage to Sheikh Szaleh thus becomes the most remarkable period in the Bedouin year."

and entered the building; at which our guides seemed rather gratified, and prided themselves on the interest we took in their traditions."

Burckhardt, who is generally extremely accurate in his observations, makes here a few little slips, probably because, in the journey on which he visited this tomb, he abstained from taking notes in the presence of the Arabs. These slips Dr. Robinson, perhaps making out his account of the erection more from Burckhardt's work than his own memoranda, very simply repeats. The "small rude stone building" of the German, alias the "small rude hut of stones" of the American, is a circular building six yards in diameter, and four yards high, and surmounted by a regular dome.

The "thin partition of wood, hung with green cloth," alias the "partition of wood hung with cloth," is a frame-work supporting the pall, covering the coffin, on the sides and ends of which are embroidered inscriptions. The "offerings of the Badawín" are suspended neither "on the walls," nor "around the partitions of wood;" but from beams running across the enclosure above. The denominative inscription is not that of Burckhardt, مقام سيدنا صالح literally, "the resting place of our Lord Sáleh," but, as we copied it on the spot, هٰذَا مَقَام النَّبِي صَالِح "this is the resting place of the prophet Ṣáleḥ." This inscription occupies the east side of the pall. On the west and south we have the Muhammadan creed:—"There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is his messenger." On the east there is a line, which, if I remember correctly, was, "There is no god but the one God, who has no equal." I think with Dr. Robinson's Arabs, that Ṣáleh here interred was probably the progenitor of the Ṣawálihah Arabs. The tailors of Cairo, in making the pall for the Badawín patriarch, with the help of some clerk who furnished them with the model inscription, may have canonized him, and dignified him with the title of "prophet."[1]

[1] Of the tribe of Thamúd, and the "prophet Saleh" of the Muhammadans, Sale takes the following notice:—"The tribe of Thamúd were the posterity of Thamúd, the son of Gather, the son of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sáleh was sent to bring them back to the knowledge of the true God. This prophet lived between the time of Hud and of Abraham, and therefore cannot be the same with the patriarch Selah, as Mr. d'Herbelot imagines. The learned Bochart, with more probability, takes him to be Phaleg. A small number of the people of Thamúd hearkened to the remonstrances of Sáleh, but the rest requiring, as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence, he accordingly obtained it of God, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned; but they, instead of believing, cut the hamstrings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake and a terrible noise

A little in advance of the tomb of Ṣáleh, the usual road to Ákabah strikes off to the right. The Badawín, in approaching this place, often diverge a little to the well Abu Ṣuweirah; but, as we were plentifully supplied with water from Sinai, we went straight onwards, descending the gentle slopes of Wádí esh-Sheikh. In about an hour and a half, we found ourselves close upon the limits of the Sinaite range, the hills on each side of us having considerably decreased in height, and begun to present various openings. In front of us we saw a great many insular masses of granite, curiously blackened in many places by the sun, and by the debris of porphyritic veins running through them. We found them piercing and elevating the greywacke schists and transition sandstone, which, to a considerable extent, they had crystallized. In connexion with them, we noticed the mounds of the substance called Ṭafal by the Arabs, which Burckhardt believed, I think correctly, to be "principally a detritus of

from heaven, which, some say, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, 'Die all of you.' Sáleh, with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction; the prophet going into Palestine, and from thence to Mecca, where he ended his days.

"This tribe first dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyar, the son of Saba, they settled in the territory of Hejr, in the province of Hejáz, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Korán, are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness hath declared, is 60 cubits wide. These houses of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature.

"The tragical destructions of these two potent tribes are often insisted on in the Korán, as instances of God's judgment on obstinate unbelievers." Sale's Koran, vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

In justice to D'Herbelot, here alluded to, it ought to be observed that he knew well that the *Musalmans* do not make Saleh the patriarch Selah, the son of Arphaxad. He says, "Si nous voulons suivre la généalogie que le Tarikh Montekheb nous donne de Saleh, ce patriarche étoit fils d'Asaph, fils de Cassekh, fils de Haver, fils de Khaber ou Heber, fils de Thamud, fils d'Aram, fils de Sam, qui est Sem, fils de Noah, qui est Noé, ce qui ne s'accorde pas avec ceux, lesquels suivent le Texte Hebreu, selon lequel Saleh étoit fils d'Arphaxad et père de Heber."—Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. iii. p. 171.

the feldspar of granite, but which, at first sight, had all the appearance of pipe-clay."[1] It much resembles the rock called laterite, of which we have such abundance on the lower spurs of the western Ghâts, and other localities in India, and has a similar pliability, and, at the same time, a similar tendency to harden when exposed to the atmosphere. It is not so deep in the colour, however, as the Indian laterite. It is principally of a straw-yellow, while the Indian rock to which I refer is of a reddish-brown. To all appearance, they are of like formation.

The range which is thus formed, our Arabs denominated Waṭeiyah. It runs N.E. and S.W. like a wall, and is very picturesque. At the place where it approaches Wádí Sheikh, was probably Rephidim, where the Israelites were encamped before they approached the mount of the Lord. If this was the case, it is to be particularly noticed, that water from the rock in Horeb could easily flow to them at this very place, on the only road practicable to them from the Wádí Feirán to Sinai. The Wádí Sheikh, through which we had come down from Sinai, forms to this day, in fact, the channel by which the winter torrents find their way to the Red Sea, passing out of it into Wádí Feirán, which, after running to the north-west till it approaches the Wádí Mukatteb, strikes nearly directly to the west, and runs into the sea. I was greatly struck with the regular descent from Sinai of this water-channel through the Wádí esh-Sheikh ; and I cannot resist directing particular attention to the impression connected with it which I have mentioned. I was glad, in looking into Dr. Robinson's work, to find that he had fixed on this very neighbourhood as Rephidim. After quoting Burckhardt's account of it,—for he himself had not visited it, but turned off to Ákabah, near the tomb of Ṣaleh,—he says,

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 488.

"The entrance to this defile from the west is five hours distant from the point where Wady esh-Sheikh issues from the plain er-Râhah. This would correspond well to the distance of Rephidim; and then these blackened cliffs would be the outskirts of Horeb. I am not aware of any objection to this view, except one which applies equally to every part of Wady esh-Sheikh and the adjacent district, viz. that neither here nor in all this tract is there at the present day any special want of water. There is a well near the defile itself, and an hour above it a spring called Abu Suweirah, which we visited; besides others in various quarters. This difficulty I am not able to solve, except by supposing, that as the people seem to have remained for some time at Rephidim, the small supply of water was speedily exhausted."[1] No other solution of the difficulty is needed, when the wants of two millions and a half of people are adverted to. Dr. Robinson brings the Rock in Horeb "near to Rephidim;" but we have already seen that there is no need of this limitation.[2]

We left the Sinaitic range at a small opening, and then taking leave of the Wádí Sheikh, we passed into a large open valley called Alwat el-Jerum, because of the abundance in it of the plant Jerum. Here we began to find our maps completely at fault, and an entire destitution of information in all the books of travel which we had with us. We resolved, in consequence, to be more particular than usual in our topographical notation.

We were about two hours in the plain of Alwat el-Jerum. Leaving it, we came into another large Wádí, or rather plateau, called Wádí el-Ḥadhar, or Ḥadharah, where we pitched our tents for the night. The centre peak of Jebel Serbál, which was here distinctly seen, bore from our encampment S.W. by

[1] Robinson's Bib. Res., p. 179.

[2] See above, pp. 333, 334.

W.; and Jebel Káthcrín S. ½ E. A spur of Jebel et-Tíh, called Jebel Shukeirah, and formed, where it was nearest us, of mounds of chalk in large detached blocks, bore N.E. by E. ½ E. Some sandstone hills, perforated by porphyry, were close upon us. Among their slopes we observed, for the first time on our journey, the curious little animal called the jerbuà, which has been so often described. Like a miniature kangaroo in form, it cantered away on its long hind legs in excellent style, keeping its long tail erect like a squirrel.

The plain of el-Hadharah runs a long way to the eastward of the place where we were. It is the general name, we learned from the Arabs, of the sandy plateau between Jebel et-Tíh, and the Sinaitic range. It is crossed by several minor Wádís, by which its drainage is carried to the sea of Ákabah at Dahab. As it was not designated in any of the maps which we had with us, I was particular in my inquiries about it with our Arabs; and I carefully wrote down its name in the Arabic character, when I heard it pronounced by them. I have been glad to observe this plateau in Russeger's new map, published in 1844, as "plat. Alahadar," which is nearly correct, if we make allowance for the confusion by the German naturalist of the Arabic article with the name itself. Accurately written in Arabic, (حضيرة), and observing the usual permutation of the final syllable, it exactly agrees with the Hebrew Hazeroth. I have not the slightest doubt, adverting to its locality and extent, that in some part of this valley was the station of the Israelites, mentioned in Numbers xi. 35.

Though the *name* of this plain has not hitherto been correctly set forth, there is an approximation to it in Burckhardt. After striking off from Wádí Sheikh, near the well Abu Suweirah, and clearing some hills, and continuing about a day's march through Wádí Sál, running to the north-east,

he came to the borders of the very plain of which I have spoken, but about twenty miles to the eastward. Under the date of the 6th of May, he writes, "We started early, and continued our way over the plain, which is called *Haydar*, (حيدار). It appears to follow the mountain of Tyh as far as its western extremity, and there to join the Seyh, of which I have already spoken, thus forming the northern sandy boundary of the lower Sinai chain."[1] There is more than an approximation to the name, when Burckhardt comes to the eastern extremity of the plain. "At one hour and three quarters" from his starting on the morning of the day mentioned, "the valley is contracted into a narrow pass, between low hills of sandstone, bearing traces of very violent torrents. At the end of two hours, east by north, we quitted the valley and crossed a rough rocky plain, intersected on every side by beds of torrents; and at two hours and three quarters halted near a rock. One of the guides went with the camels up a side valley, to bring water from the well *Hadhra*, (حضرة), perhaps the *Hazeroth* (חצרות) mentioned in Numbers xxxiii. 17, distant about two miles from the halting-place. Near the well are said to be some date trees, and the remains of walls which formerly enclosed a few plantations."[2] While Burckhardt thus actually *identifies the name* as applied to a *well* contiguous to the plain, Dr. Robinson, who pretty nearly reversed his course, when going to the sea of Akabah from Mount Sinai, notices and approves of the identification by Burckhardt, and adds, —"The determination of this point is perhaps of more importance in Biblical history than would at first appear; for if this position be adopted for Hazeroth, it settles at once the question as to the whole route of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It shows that they must have followed

[1] Travels in Syria, p. 494. [2] Travels, p. 495.

the route upon which we now were to the sea, and so along the coast to Ăḳabah; and thence probably through the great Wady el-Ărabah to Kadesh. Indeed, such is the nature of the country, that having once arrived at this fountain, they could not well have varied their course, so as to have kept aloof from the sea, and continued along the high plateau of the western desert."[1] Were we to grant that "the *well* of Ḥadharah" is the place of the encampment of the Israelites at Hazeroth, the conclusions here mentioned would undoubtedly follow. From what I have said, however, about the great *valley* of Ḥadharah, we are not shut up to the necessity of fixing on a spot for the encampment of the Israelites at this well. A large plateau or sandy plain to the west of that place, and extending for upwards of thirty miles, affords us space sufficient to allow us to choose the site for the encampment which will most naturally accord with the sacred narrative.

From the first time that I had my attention directed to the opinions of Burckhardt and Dr. Robinson, now adverted to, I felt great difficulties about the *well* of Ḥadharah and the Hazeroth of Scripture, which, on every attempt which I made to overcome them, became only the more formidable. What these are, I beg here distinctly to state. Upon the numbering of the Israelites before Sinai, new order was introduced into their camp. They pitched by the respective standards of their tribes.[2] When they "took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai," "the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran;" and "they first took their journey according to the commandment of the Lord by the hand of Moses," regularly marshalled, and following the respective standards of their respective tribes.[3] "They departed from the mount of the Lord three days' journey," still in the order

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

[2] Numb. ii. 34.

[3] Numb. x. 12-28.

in which they had set out.[1] Here they were at Taberah.[2] They next proceeded to Kibroth-Hataavah, which was obviously in a *plain*, and not in a defile; for upon their murmuring for flesh, "there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and as it were two cubits (high) upon the face of the earth."[3] "And the people journeyed from Kibroth-Hataavah unto Hazeroth, and they abode at Hazeroth."[4] It appears from the sacred narrative here referred to, that the Israelites must have left Sinai by a route which, in the first instance, permitted their orderly march and encampment according to their tribes; and every one who will look to the topography of the Sinaitic range, must see that their course must have been through the wide avenue of Wádí esh-Sheikh, with the mountainous boundaries on each side which we have noticed as we have passed along. Coming out of the Sinaitic group, probably near their former encampment at Rephidim, they were in the "wilderness of Paran," another distinctive district of the desert, not unlikely the plain Alwat el-Jerum, to the north-east of Wádí Sheikh, which is admitted on all hands to be a part of the head of the valley of Feirán, from which probably the designation of Paran, as applied to this part of the desert, was derived. Still further advancing, they were in the *plain* of Ḥadharah, or Hazeroth, in a part of which our tents are now pitched. All this seems natural and perfectly congruous. If we take them, however, to the *well* of Ḥadharah, by Dr. Robinson's route, we lead them at once from a broad valley,—where they could march in order,—over hills and ridges, and narrow valleys, where their ranks must have

[1] Numb. x. 33.
[2] Numb. xi. 3. Deut. ix. 22.
[3] Numb. xi. 31.
[4] Numb. xi. 35.

necessarily been broken up. We continue them among the irregularities and tortuosities of the eastern outposts of the Sinaitic group for about twenty miles. We give them an exit from these groups, where Jebel Tîh runs down upon them from the north-west, and we find, for the first time probably, a part of the plain of Ḥadharah, where an encampment could easily be formed by them. We take them a stage in advance to the well of Ḥadharah, the path to which is so rugged and difficult, that according to the accounts of Dr. Robinson's Arabs, their camels could not reach the spring. In the neighbourhood of this well, in very confined space, there is a regular station of the Israelites. Afterwards they are necessitated—for they cannot mount Jebel Tîh—to descend upon the gulf of 'Aḳabah, and to proceed along its narrow shores, rounding its headlands jutting into the sea of Ezion-gaber. That all this is *possible*, I should certainly not venture to deny. That a course, apparently more consistent with the sacred narrative can be found for them, at least to the valley of Ḥadharah, or Hazeroth, I have already indicated.

Were I required to admit that the Israelites must have proceeded from Sinai to the gulf of 'Aḳabah, by the passes leading down from the southern ridge of Jebel Tîh, I should be disposed to think that they first came out from the Sinaitic range, going almost straight north, through Wâdî Sheikh, and then through the outposts of Sinai in that direction; and that they *afterwards* turned to the right hand, and proceeded eastward through the open valleys to these passes. As far as the march *to the passes* is concerned, this supposed route presents no apparent difficulty, when viewed in connexion with the Scripture narrative. Other routes to Mount Seir, (Deut. i. 2,) however, occur to us as practicable and suitable, when we advert to the extent of the plateau of Hadharah, as seen by us in its western parts. The Israelites, leaving Hadharah, might have at once surmounted

Jebel Tíh, either by the pass of Mareikhí, or that of Zaránah, (called also Zalaḳah,) at the head of Jebel Shaḳeirah. Ascending through either of these passes, they would be in the "great and terrible wilderness," in which the universal tradition of Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans supposes them to have wandered. Their route by the latter pass, which appears the more probable of the two, when its relative position to Mount Seir is considered, would carry them along the plateau behind the ridge, bounding the sea of Ákabah, allow the orderly pitching of their camp, according to the Divine directions, free them from many difficulties which the narrow coast road presents, and actually prove the shortest route either to Ezion-gaber, or to any part of Wádí Árabah, bounded by Mount Seir, at which they might descend from the plateau by any of the numerous Wádís which lead into that long and distinctive plain.

Sabbath, 26th February.—About one o'clock, A.M. a violent gust of wind, accompanied by thunder, and a slight shower of rain, blew down a couple of our tents, and put us, for the time being, to great inconvenience. We had but little rest after this blast, and got astir at day-break. As our English friends were engaged to leave Beirút by the steamer of a particular day, and calculated that they could not halt another day in the desert, they reluctantly determined to proceed on their journey, even though they fully recognised the sanctity of the Sabbath. Our party could not be divided; and we were all obliged to accompany them. I regretted our movement exceedingly, though I was forced, in the circumstances in which we were placed, to admit its necessity. It was, with one exception, the first march which I had made on a Sabbath, during fifteen years' residence in the very empire of heathenism in the far east. It was brought to a close, however, sooner than usual, and we had divine service regularly conducted before the evening. I found

opportunity, moreover, principally when seated on my camel, to peruse the whole book of Job, the great patriarch of the Arabian desert. The localities in which we now were, probably similar to those with which Job was most conversant, and the manners and customs which we were daily observing among our Arabs, appeared to me to cast new light on every chapter of this lofty poetry and veritable biography.

We started from our resting-place at six o'clock in the morning, proceeding in the direction of N.N.W. Before nine o'clock, we had passed through two small Wádís, those of Ḥumáyat and Amḥalik.[1] They are formed by crevasses in the sandstone, caused by the eruption of dykes of porphyry and basalt. At nine o'clock, close upon the one last mentioned, we stopped to breakfast. When engaged in preparing it we had some very unwelcome visitors in the person of the sheikh of the Mazeiní Arabs,—who occupy the valleys running south of Jebel Tíh,—and of one or two of his followers. They formed a gang who, in the preceding year, in presence of our Egyptian servants and a party of our countrymen, had murdered a sheikh of another tribe with which they had some feud. They were perfectly civil to us, however, and gave us no trouble, except in forcing us to accept the present of a sheep, for which, of course, they expected even more than the full value. Shortly after breakfast we found ourselves winding to the N.N.E. among the spurs and roots of Jebel Tíh, which bisects the peninsula here by running north-west and south-east. By an extension of Wádí Ḥumáyat, and then by Wádí Sík,—which is very narrow, with slopes of alluvial conglomerate resting on the sandstone on each side of it,—we advanced upon the ridge of Tíh itself. Turning our faces to the west, we had the long and winding pass of Mareikhí

[1] I dare scarcely venture to couple this name with AMALEK, even though we all noticed the resemblance in sound, and though Amalek may have come down from these very valleys and fought with the Israelites at Rephidim.

overhanging us. We found it no very easy matter to complete its ascent, which occupied a couple of hours, though we kept our seats on the camels for a considerable part of the way. In the abrupted rocks on each side of our narrow path-way, we had a section of the desert laid bare to our view, from 1000 to 1500 feet in depth. It seemed to us, by its slopes, and precipices, and hollows, and caverns, to be a striking illustration,—as we often noticed among the ravines of the wilderness,—of the text in which the Israelites are said to have been led "through a land of deserts and of *pits*."[1] It was interesting to us, too, in a scientific point of view, as it illustrated the order of the supra-position of certain of the systems of rocks forming the crust of our globe. We commenced with the variegated sandstone, passed through the cretaceous system, and entered above it on layers of tertiary sand and gravel, exactly like those of the Egyptian desert between Suez and Cairo. When we got to the summits above, forming the plateau gently sloping to the north, we reckoned ourselves about 4500 feet above the level of the sea, a good part of the Sinaitic range, and particularly its western division near Jebel Serbál being still visible. Here we found even on the surface, beds of the ostrea diluviana, and of coralline, almost as perfect as if they had been yesterday raised from the bed of the ocean. We pitched our tents on the summits of the ridge, about two hours in advance of its southern face.

Monday, 27th February.—We were in motion this morning about a quarter to six. Our course lay to the north-east, across the table-land of Jebel Tíh, which we found to be generally of marine sand and gravel, with occasional blocks of chalk containing concretions of innumerable multilocular shells, such as are to be found in the nummulite at the

[1] Jer. ii. 6.

Egyptian pyramids. Oyster-beds and coral rocks too, as yesterday, were not unfrequent. We obtained, scattered on the surface of the desert, some fine specimens of petrified wood, exactly similar to that found near the Mukattem in the vicinity of Cairo, and which has proved, on examination with the microscope, to be identical in its species. After three hours we stopped for breakfast, where a chalk ridge, apparently running from the table-land N.N.W., commences. Keeping to the west of this range, in a sort of depression, which our Arabs told us was the head of the great Wádí el-Arísh, which extends to the Mediterranean at the ancient Rhinocolura, we arrived at mid-day at the wells of Rejím. They are two in number, with but brackish water. They are close to the chalk ridge which has another still higher, running parallel to it on the east, and an incipient low ridge on the west. They are a regular resting-place for the Arabs, who visit them in considerable numbers for the purpose of watering their camels. We found only a few inches' depth of water in them; but by digging at the bottom a supply was readily obtained. A wreath of ashes formed by the fires of the Badawín, had been blown along side of them, under the shelter of the chalk rocks adjoining. Having sunk in it up to the knees, I asked an Arab who did not perceive my mishap to cross it in order to hand me a piece of the sulphate of lime lying glittering beyond it. When he found that he lost his footing in it, and saw that I was testing him by a practical joke, he immediately cried out, "O these books of the English gentlemen, they describe every knoll and every pit in our country! The English have no need of guides. They know every thing better than we ourselves do." He innocently thought that we must have had a description of this wreath of ashes in some of our books. Unfortunately, they were all a mere blank, or nearly so, as far as this part of the desert is concerned.

From er-Rejím, we proceeded about an hour in a north-west direction into a branch Wádí belonging to Wádí el-Ârísh. We then came upon the main trunk of Wádí el-Ârísh, running N.N.W., its course being guided by the chalk ridge of el-Ajmah on our right. We encamped, as usual, about six o'clock. There were many Ṭarfá trees in our neighbourhood, and the banks of the Wádí on each side of us were from forty to eighty feet high. They were partly sloping and partly perpendicular. Two or three flocks of goats and sheep were grazing—I should rather say, pruning the bushes—in our neighbourhood. They were under the care of women belonging to the Ḥeiwát Arabs, whose range on the south is bounded by Jebel Tíh, and on the north by the Ḥaj, or pilgrim track between Cairo and Ákabah. The shepherdesses seemed to know some of the Ṭawarah Arabs of our ḳafilah. When speaking of their tribe, one of the Arabs with us said, "The Ḥeiwát Arabs are great cowards; they build houses." I rather think he was thus slandering his brethren; for, as far as we could learn, they are content to nestle in tents like their hardy compeers, or, when they are obliged to dispense with these tabernacles, to burrow in bushes or caverns the best way they can.[1] The atmosphere was remarkably hazy in front of us throughout the day.

Tuesday, 28th February.—Starting this morning at half-past seven, we proceeded along Wádí el-Ârish, which on our course ran here principally in a northerly direction. The wind was southerly till about nine o'clock, when it suddenly changed to the north-west, where we had observed blackness and darkness both last night and this morning. It brought with it immense clouds of chalk-dust and sand, with which

[1] Burckhardt, who fell in with a few of their families feeding their camels on the gum Arabic trees in Wádí el-Laheiyánah, says,—"These poor people had no tents with them; and their only shelter from the burning rays of the sun, and the heavy dews of night, were the scanty branches of the Talh trees."—Travels in Syria, p. 446.

our clothes were quite powdered; and was hot and suffocating, and distressing both to man and beast. It was literally רוּחַ סְעָרָה, *ruach se'arâh*, "a whirlwind" out of the north, or violent wind,—corresponding with the سَمُوم *Samúm* of the Arabs,[1]—a "dry wind of the high places in the wilderness, . . . not to fan or to cleanse."[2] The atmosphere soon cleared up after it passed away; and the glare from the chalk over which we were travelling, and the cliffs around us, was quite intolerable.

> "O'er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye
> Can sweep, a dazzling deluge reigns; and all
> From pole to pole is undistinguished blaze."

I was obliged to dismount from my camel to have the sphere of reflexion upon my eyes contracted; but even in this way I found but little abatement of my visual agonies.

> "In vain the sight, dejected to the ground,
> Stoops for relief; thence hot ascending streams,
> And keen reflection pain."
>
> THOMSON.

At mid-day we were close upon the flanks of the remarkable chalk range, which we had observed running to the N.N.W. from the time that we had got to the summit of Jebel Tíh. At three o'clock, a range of hills, of which we could see no trace in any of our maps, appeared to the west of us, approaching the Wádí el-Árish. At this time we spoke four "ships of the desert," bound for Cairo, and loaded with "coals of juniper," or, in other words, with charcoal made from the roots or branches of the *ratam*, or white broom of the desert, the identical bush referred to by the sacred writer.[3] The pilots, or camel-drivers, belonged to the

[1] Ezek. i. 4.
[2] Jer. iv. 11.
[3] Psalm cxx. 4. The Hebrew רְתָם *Rotem* is obviously the same with the Arabic رَتَم *Ratam*. Burckhardt,

Ḥeiwát Arabs. Our sheikh had an anxious conversation with them about our attempted avoidance of the Tiyáhah Badawín, the lords of the waste to the north of us, and about our probable reception and treatment by them, should we fall into their clutches. The result was an advice to the gentlemen of our party to make but a spare use of their fowling-pieces, lest in the attempt to kill a fugitive partridge or hare, they should start a belligerent man. This counsel it was not difficult to observe, for hitherto we had found an entire destitution of game of every kind. The lizards and beetles appeared to be the only settled inhabitants of the wilderness which we had hitherto perceived. The first bird which I remember having seen after crossing the Tíh, was a coucal, known among the Arabs by the generic name of Ḳuwál, and apparently the species absurdly denominated by Europeans in India, the "Malabar pheasant." This bird, I have seen from the examination of the contents of its stomach, lives on lizards, serpents, coleopterous insects, and such like dainties as are to be found in these Wádís.

We pitched at sunset near some fine Ṭarfá trees, at a place called the Matbá el-Ḥeiyálah. From our encampment, lying N.N.E. of us, there appeared an opening in the chalk ridge of el-Ajmah. A sand and limestone range, apparently a continuation of the Ajmah, lay to the north of us.

Wednesday, 1st March.—We started at a quarter to seven o'clock this morning, and travelled N.N.E. along the base of Jebel Ḥeiyálah, running north. We passed over considerable patches of sand and gravel, varied by similar patches of chalk. Immense quantities of flints and jaspers, and other

when noticing Wádí Kinnah, says:—"We here found several Bedouins occupied in collecting brushwood, which they burn into charcoal for the Cairo market; they prefer for this purpose the thick roots of the shrub Retham, *Genista rætam* of Forskal, which grows here in abundance." Travels in Syria, p. 483. We shall afterwards have occasion to notice this plant.

concretions of quartz and clay, similar to those found in the Egyptian deserts, here and there covered the surface of the ground. Where they were wanting, the chalk, as yesterday, was intolerably dazzling. Great quantities of round and botryoidal nodules of some metallic ore—probably iron, or manganese—were scattered over the chalk, in two or three places. We advised our Arabs to take loads of it with them on their return to Cairo, thinking, from its weight, that it could be smelted to advantage.[1]

At a quarter to five in the afternoon, we came to the Derb el-Ḥaj, or great pilgrim road, about two hours to the west of the fortlet of Nakhl, which our Arabs were anxious to avoid.[2] We made a small advance upon it to the right and to the left before crossing it, that we might observe its peculiarities. It was marked by about twenty or thirty distinct camel tracks, running parallel to, or crossing, one another. Independently, however, of the palpable vestigia of the camels, there was no difficulty in tracing its direction. The blanched bones and skeletons of the animals which had perished in the oppressive journeys conducted over its surface, were unerring indications of its course. It is usually represented on the maps by a tolerably straight line drawn from the fort of Ajerúd, near Suez, to the Egyptian Akabah,[3]

[1] Some of these nodules I carried with me to Britain for particular examination; but unfortunately they are not now forthcoming.

[2] "Nakhel," says Burckhardt, "stands in a plain, which extends to an immense distance southward, but which terminates to the N. at about one hour's distance from Nakhel, in a low chain of mountains. The fortress is a large square building with stone walls, without any habitations round it. There is a well of brackish water, and a large birket, which is filled from the well, in the time of the Hadj. The Pasha of Egypt keeps a garrison in Nakhel of about fifty soldiers, and uses it as a magazine for the provisions of his army in his expedition against the Wahabi. The appellation Nakhel was probably given to the castle at a time when the adjacent country was covered with palm trees, none of which are now to be seen here."—Burckhardt's Travels, p. 450.

[3] As distinguished from the Syrian Akabah. See Appendix to Burckhardt.

or Ezion-gaber. Such a line forms a general index of its direction, but the Wádís and ridges of the desert, as we observed, give it frequent incurvatures. Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix, I believe, followed it from Suez to Nakhl. The pilgrimage, which is one of the five works of merit and means of salvation of the Muhammadans, and one which, from the earliest times, has also been associated with objects of commerce, is now to a considerable extent on the decline. Thousands upon thousands of Muhammadans, however, upon this and the other great pilgrim routes, as well as by sea, proceed annually in ostentatious procession to Medina and Mecca, to worship at the shrine of the Arabian impostor, and to salute the ancient ḳiblah of the idolatry of the desert, the famous black stone of the Kàabah. The title of Ḥájí, given to the individuals who complete the pilgrimage, is one much coveted throughout the whole empire of Islamism. Its bearded possessors are viewed as combining the character both of the knight and the saint; and considerable deference is shown to them in the communities to which they belong.

Deflecting somewhat to the east after passing the Ḥaj road, and an opening in the hills or mounds contiguous to it, we pitched our tents at sunset near the Wádí el-Ḥamd, a chalk range being visible to the left.

Thursday, 2d March.—The general direction of our route to-day was about E.N.E. We started at a quarter to seven o'clock, and travelled till sunset, without stopping, except for about an hour at nine o'clock, when we took our breakfast under the shelter of a chalk bank, to us "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." At a quarter to four in the afternoon, the central part of Jebel Yelaḳ bore directly west of us. At this time, when we were going merrily along, we espied in the distance two or three black tents, which were sufficiently ominous to our whole party.

Our sheikh Maṭeir eyed them with great uneasiness, and attempted to steer clear of them, as a cautious helmsman when he discovers a dangerous reef in front of his bark. We were all ordered to quicken the pace of our camels, and to keep somewhat to the right of the tents. Their owners, however, who had seen us at a distance with their telescopic eyes, were not long in overtaking us. They seemed backward in giving us the usual salutations; and they were not slow in unfolding to us their high resolves. "We are the men of the Tîh, the Tiyâhah Arabs," said Sheikh Sâîd, their principal spokesman, "and it is inconsistent with our laws, customs, and decrees, to allow these Ṭawarahs to conduct you through our territories. They had no right to cross Jebel Tîh; and to intrude into the range of the Ḥeiwâts. That range, however, terminated with the Ḥaj route; and here is a new range with a new regime. Have the goodness to alight." "We are always in the habit," we said in reply, "of dismounting at sunset; if you have any thing particular to communicate to us, we shall discuss matters in our tents, when they are pitched for the night." On this they slung their guns—part of the plunder they had taken from the Egyptian army on its retreat from Syria, in 1841—over their shoulders, and joined themselves to our procession. As we advanced, their numbers multiplied, both men and camels starting up in the desert like the spectres of a conjuror. By and bye they became our guides, and conducted us to a pool of excellent water, which was most refreshing both to men and camels. Some other small pools of the same character were quite contiguous to it, and which, owing to the form of the ground, appeared to be fed from every point of the compass. The part of the desert where we were, they denominated the Ḳâà el-Barûk, or "Plain of the Pools." It consisted of an extensive basin slightly depressed, with the sands torn up in some places to the depth of six or seven feet by the tor-

rents. In the dry bed of one of these torrents, we pitched our tents for the night, our new and unwelcome attachés rendering us every assistance in their erection. We soon discussed our dinner, and invited the Tiyáhahs to take coffee with us. They drank a little of the brown beverage, alleging that, without any scruples of conscience, they could make as free a use of it as of the rains of heaven; but they would not touch our bread or biscuit, they said, till they had come to an understanding with us about the claims which they were determined to urge. *Opere peracto ludemus* was their sensible motto. Till they had made a regular treaty with us, they would neither touch nor taste the symbols of amity, bread and salt. After a little deliberation among ourselves, we informed our sheikh, that as he had guaranteed a safe passage to us to Dhahariyah, near Hebron, he ought to endeavour to conciliate these strangers by offering to them a sum of money for our liberty of passage, and to ask them to furnish some guides to us, to prevent us from suffering by any further exactions which might be made by any of their clansmen with whom we might afterwards come in contact in our peregrinations. All this, he informed us, he was most ready to do. A large fire was kindled in front of our tents; and both the Ṭawarah and the Tiyáhah seated themselves around it, prepared to enter upon anxious debate. They addressed one another with great power of voice and violence of gesticulation, fearfully profaning the divine name at every sentence, and each party swearing respectively that it would enforce its views, though even at the peril of a resort to blows and bloodshed. How a trial of bataille would terminate, should it unhappily be resorted to, soon became apparent. The mob of the Tiyáhah was swelled by various unexpected additions. One man after another—attracted perhaps by the fire seen at a distance, or under preconcerted arrangement,—came galloping up on his camel, for the purpose

of inspiring us with terror. Among the new arrivals was a second Tiyáhah sheikh, called Ḥusein, a most accomplished blusterer, who vowed that unless the Ṭawarahs made an unconditional surrender of us, he would call up a thousand armed men ere the morning for our annihilation! Exactly at midnight he declared his ultimatum, and intimated his intended withdrawal from us, that he might return with his confederates to execute his threatened vengeance, and enforce our subjection. By this time we, who were the interested spectators and auditors of all these proceedings, had fully deliberated about the measures we should pursue. Our counsels, of course, were those of peace and submission, with a due regard to the best terms of capitulation which we could arrange. We had told our Ṭawarah friends that they had no right to force the passage for us through other territories than their own; and that, as they had failed in their negotiations to purchase a passage in our behalf, they must see to make arrangements for our safe conduct to the place of our destination, on the same terms that they themselves had covenanted with us at Mount Sinai. This of course involved some sacrifice on their part, as they had counted much on the profits of a journey so extended as that which they contemplated. Though the *auri sacra fames* was strong in them as the thirst of the gazelle in the day of its pursuit throughout the desert, they were obliged to express their consent. The Tiyáhah, too, without hesitation agreed to the proposal. The question of the amount of money actually to be paid to the Ṭawarahs for the distance they had brought us, and to the Tiyáhah for the distance they had to take us, was then raised. This we of course left to the adjudication of the parties themselves, as we cared not about the issue, provided they were satisfied, and we were duly forwarded on our journey, on the terms for which we had made an agreement at the convent. After much

discussion, they agreed to divide equally the whole fare, which was 220 piastres for each camel between Mount Sinai and Dhahariyah. When they intimated their decision to us, and we saw them perfectly calm and peaceful, we came forward with a new proposal, which Mr. Smith and I had had in reserve from the beginning of the evening, but which we determined not to state till we had the full consent of our valued friends, Messrs. Sherlock, Parke, and Allan, from England. It was to the effect that the Ṭawarahs should be allowed to proceed with the English travellers unmolested, and that the Tiyáhah should conduct the Bombay travellers first to Petra, and then to Dhahariyah. Such an arrangement was mutually advantageous, we thought, to all the parties concerned. Our English friends could advance on the morrow without the inconvenience of changing their camels and incurring delay in procuring new ones, and without any farther apprehension of impediment from the Tiyáhah. We could at once go east to Petra, with a saving to us of five days' travel and considerable expense, and with the sight of a great portion of the desert entirely new to Europeans. The Ṭawarah, to a certain extent, would have still further employment before them. And the Tiyáhah, while sacrificing the fee of half the number of camels needed for our transit, could get the same amount by doubling the distance that they were to act as our guides. The only drawback was our suspicion of the character of the Tiyáhah, and the apprehensions which we had about the treatment which we might experience at their hands, arising from the violence which they had shown during the whole night. A bargain was closed according to the terms of our proposal. Mr. Smith and I agreed to give the Tiyáhah 220 piastres for each camel for the whole distance between the place of our encampment and Petra, and between Petra and Hebron,

exclusive of a dress to each of the sheikhs, valued at 250 piastres, or two pounds ten shillings sterling.

Friday, 3d March.—After the squabbles and excitement of last night, and the continued noise of the Tiyáhah till morning, we had but little rest or refreshment. The blaze of the sun through our tents, however, and the anticipated duties of the day, forced us from our couches before seven o'clock. After breakfast we made a division of our stores and our cooking utensils with our English friends, and assisted them in making ready for their departure. They kindly agreed to take charge of my Jewish friend Mordecai, till they might reach Hebron; and I committed to his care two or three camel loads of books which I had brought for distribution in Syria, and other luggage which I did not require on the journey to Petra. We then made a settlement with such of our Ṭawarah Arabs as were to obtain their leave, giving our sheikh five sovereigns for his faithful guardianship of us from Cairo, and about a pound's worth of clothing in addition, and each of our own personal camel-drivers a present of no great value. They all expressed their satisfaction with the treatment which they had received at our hands; and none of us had the least fault to find with the manner in which they had fulfilled their duties. The European traveller, I have no hesitation in saying, is perfectly safe in the hands of the Ṭor Arabs. He must not injudiciously attempt, however, to carry them beyond the limits of their own country and acknowledged influence. Sheikh Maṭeir of the Aleiḳát tribe, I can confidently recommend to my countrymen, from the experience wh ch we had of him, as an intelligent, active, communicative, and faithful guide, and one who is able by firmness and kindness, to maintain his authority in his own camp, a matter—as we were afterwards taught by experience—of no small consequence.

Our English friends bade us adieu a little after mid-day. We felt much in parting with them, as by their brotherly feeling, intelligent observation, lively and animated conversation, and commendable enterprise, they had contributed much to the interest of our journey. Long shall Mr. Smith and myself remember the agreeable and profitable fellowship which we had with them among the wonders of Egypt and the sanctities of Sinai. On their departure, our party besides Mr. Smith and myself, consisted of one European, engaged as our artist, Dhanjibhái, the young Pársí convert from India, and two servants. We were obliged to rest for the day at el-Búrak, as our new guides were in search of camels for the work before them, most of those which they had collected last night having been dismissed, from their alleged incapacity for a long journey. We made some little excursions in the neighbourhood of our tents. We were surprised to see one or two small fields of sandy soil in the valley laid out and enclosed for culture, and to learn that a small quantity of barley and some vegetables are raised upon them. We saw in them numbers of the large red-legged partridge (francolinus vulgaris.) Near the pools we observed one or two sandpipers; and a brace of aquatic birds, apparently ducks, flew over our heads.

Tiyahah Sheikh.

African Slave in the Custody of the Tiyahah.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FROM THE CENTRE OF THE GREAT DESERT TO WADI EL-'ARABAH.

Saturday, 4th March.—We were put to much trouble this morning in the assortment of the loads of our new animals, which, for the evident object of extorting money from us, but under the pretence of sparing their breeding camels, the Tiyáhah insisted should be light to absolute mockery. We were compelled to accept of twenty beasts, even though, including those which we required for the conveyance of our own persons, we had not proper burdens for more than a dozen. Most of the brutes which were given to us were quite unbroken; and it was no easy matter to drive them from their accustomed pasturages. That which was selected in the first instance as my dromedary was quite furious, and

for some time far beyond the management of one of our leaders, who gave me his own animal in its place. A third sheikh was introduced to our notice; and we were obliged to promise to remunerate his dignity, as we had covenanted to do in the case of those who were present at the making of our bargain. We were obliged, contrary to all precedent, to advance nearly the whole sum promised for the journey, and thus to put ourselves entirely at the mercy of those whose fidelity and serviceableness had yet to be tested. When we began to get under weigh, a young Arab from another tribe, said to be a murderer, robber, and outlaw, to whom the Tiyáhah had given shelter, came to pay us his respects; and on our declining to give him any present, the Tiyáhah gave him a couple of dollars, along with his dismission. It was half-past nine in the morning before we got fairly in motion. Our course lay almost directly east. At twelve o'clock Jebel Ḥarím, the Jehrimm of Dr. Robinson's map, was opposite to us on the north or our left hand, apparently about two miles distant. It stretches to a good extent east and west; for we were two hours before we cleared it in the line of our meridian. To our surprise, Jebel Ḥelál, apparently some fifteen or sixteen miles distant from us, appeared to the north a few minutes after we had passed Jebel Ḥarím. In the maps it is laid to the west of the hill last mentioned. A low chalk or limestone range, running to the east, named Tarf el-Mahashem, intervened between us and Helal. The Rás el-Bahah, or the "Headland of Beauty," a corresponding range, ran in the same direction a little to the south. We pitched in Wádí el-Maheshem, hitherto set down Meshehem, at sunset. The ground over which we passed in the course of the day was nearly level; and the branch Wádís, which we saw, but which we were unable to trace, are merely slight depressions in the sands.

Sabbath, 5th March.—The want of water,—our Badawín,

under the allegation that it could easily be procured in the desert here, having emptied our skins,—forced us to make a short march to day. We had social worship, however, together, before starting at nine o'clock. Our course was still to the east. At mid-day we came upon a small encampment. It consisted of four tents of Tiyáhah. We entered the best of these tabernacles, on the invitation of its owner, —a venerable old man, apparently of some consequence among his fellows, and whom Sheikh Ḥusein introduced to us as his uncle. It did not differ from the others beside it, except in size, it being a little larger. It was "black like the tents of Kedar;"[1] in fact, like all the tents which we noticed in the desert,—consisting of cloth of goat's hair stretched longitudinally on three small poles, at each of its ends, and supported by three poles in the middle. It consisted of two divisions. Into that allotted to the females, and called the Ḥaram, we were forbidden to look. We were squatted on a rug spread for our accommodation over the men's apartment; and sour milk, which we found most refreshing, was served up in wooden dishes or troughs about a foot long, and six inches broad, with an extended mouth-piece at each end to facilitate the operation of drinking. We entered into a peaceful, and, I trust, a profitable conversation with the sheikh. It aroused the curiosity of his lady; and she was not long in coming forth from her obscurity. By way of concealing, as she thought, her own intrusion upon us, she dragged in her affrighted children, and presented them for our blessing. We made each of them a little present, and were speedily friends. We explained to the sheikh the reasons of our travelling; and, unexpectedly to us, he appeared at once, in some degree, to comprehend them. Such honour as our visit paid him, he said, he had never received; and

[1] Song, i. 5.

it was his wish that the English, in all time coming, should go straight through his country from Egypt to Jebel Hárún, or the Mount of Aaron, and Wádí Musá. There was a degree of frankness, and sincerity, and kindness about him, which we much liked, and which strongly contrasted with the rudeness and bluster of our guides.

We were glad to be able to halt at four o'clock. Our encampment was in Wádí Ḳareishí.[1] Jebel Áráif en-Náḳah, a remarkable conical hill, bore N.N.W. of us. The valley in which we rested had a good deal of herbaceous and ligneous vegetation, and some beautiful and large specimens of the white broom or Ratham. We dined under the shade of one of these bushes, with its branches spreading over us. This plant, to which I have already referred, has for some time been acknowledged to be the רֹתֶם of Scripture.[2] It was under such a bush that Elijah, when he had gone a day's journey into the wilderness, came and sat down, and requested for himself that he might die, and under which he lay and slept.[3] Job speaks of its roots affording food in the time of want and famine.[4] At sunset, we observed the Badawín spread their mats and turn their faces towards Mecca. Such an act of regular worship—if the mere repetition of the Muhammadan creed for some dozen of times, for it was nothing more, can be called by the name—we had never observed among the Ṭawarahs, who did nothing of a religious kind, in our presence at least, but mutter a sentence or two on passing a tomb, or heap of stones, or on killing some animal. The unexpected devotion of the Tiyáhah, we found had a peculiar cause. They had observed a "sign in the heavens," and they were "dismayed." They called us to look at a long

[1] "The Kareiyah" of Dr. Robinson's map.

[2] See above, p. 266.

[3] 1 Kings xix. 4, 5.

[4] Job xxx. 4. It deserves to be noticed, that RITHMAH, (רִתְמָה) one of the stations of the Israelites in the desert, (Numb. xxxiii. 18, 19,) means the "place of the broom."

luminous streak in the sky, and anxiously asked of us if we knew its import. We told them that it was a comet, though we did not distinctly observe its nucleus till the following evening. I believe that the unclouded clearness of the atmosphere enabled us to see this great comet of March 1843, before it was noticed in any other part of the world.

6th March 1843.—Before day-break, our Arabs set upon quarrelling with one another, the occasion of their dispute being the division of the money which they had received in advance as part of the payment for their camels. We really thought that they would come to blows; but it is their fashion to bluster rather than to strike. One of their number, who was deaf and dumb, gesticulated and groaned most extravagantly, and appeared to be the individual most sensible of injury. He blamed the sheikhs for withholding from him what was his due; but we could not interfere in his behalf, except by advice and remonstrance. A poor African slave boy was the only individual belonging to the body seemingly peaceably disposed.[1] The treatment which he received, if it might be taken as a specimen of that generally experienced from the Badawín, showed us that the slavery of the barren desert is essentially the same as that of the fertile plantation, "still a bitter draught." He was constantly overwrought, half-starved, and clothed in tattered and dirty garments. A Ṭarbush, or Fez cap which Dhanjí gave to him, was stolen from him in our very presence.

In consequence of the dissensions of our guides, they were long in getting in motion in the morning. We passed on before them till we came to the Wádí el-Ḥeikabah, near the place, we supposed, where it must have been crossed by Dr. Robinson and his companion, Mr Smith, on their route from Akabah to Hebron in 1838. It is on their map, but not

[1] See woodcut, p. 276.

noticed by them in their journal. It runs, where we saw it, east and west. I rather think that its waters, and those of the adjoining minor Wádís, are lost in the sands, or carried off by evaporation, because, looking to the general appearance of the desert, we could not see how they can find their way either to the Mediterranean through the Wádí el-'Aríish, or to the Wádí 'Akabah through the Wádí Jerâfah. In Wádí Ḥeikabah, or Ḥeikbat, we found an abundance of herbs and shrubs. A species of grass, somewhat like rye in its appearance, was so common and regular, on apparently artificial ridges prepared for it, that we concluded that it had been sown. It was mixed with a species of wild oats. In this little grove—for so we must call it, as appearing in the desert—we heard the singing of birds, which to our feelings was quite exhilarating. It proceeded, I think, from the lark, which here, as in India, sings when seated on a twig, or when moving from bush to bush.

Mounting our camels at this place, we continued to go to the east. In less than an hour, we found a considerable rise on our track extending both on the right and left, and entered upon a higher plateau, by the Nakb el-Mazbah, or "Pass of Slaughter." Above, the whole surface of the desert appeared covered with dark jaspers and flints, as far as the eye could reach. We found it broken, however, here and there by deepish and pretty broad Wádís, very similar in their vegetation to that which I have last mentioned. We followed to the eastward one of those Wádís called Wádí el-Mazbah, till it communicated with the great Wádí Jerâfah, or Jerâfín, as it was given in the plural form by our Arabs. The Jerâfah is deep in its course where we continued within it; and our Arabs, as if apprehending some attack from an enemy, threw out scouts along its banks, as we advanced through it for about an hour. It forms the great drain of the north-eastern part of the peninsula, running from the

point of junction of the cross ridges of Jebel Tíh and the longitudinal range running along the head of the sea of Ákabah. Very little is known of its precise course. Judging from what we observed of the face of the country, I should say that it must keep close to the western sides of what may be called the eastern plateau of the peninsula, and that most of its tributaries must lie west of its main trunk, as the slope of the plateau to which I now refer is mainly in the direction of the Wádí 'Arabah. If any part of the great wilderness is more interesting than another, I should think that it is the course of this Wádí; as from the general direction which it takes from its rise in the Tíh, I think it not unlikely that the Israelites must have gone pretty much upon it, or on a line with it, on their march northward from Sinai, after they had ascended the Tíh from Hazeroth, probably at the pass of Zalákah. Could not some band of travellers from Sinai to Petra trace it through its whole course? It falls into the Wádí 'Arabah, a little to the north of Mount Hor. The part of it which we traversed contained here and there pools of water, and a good deal of vegetation.

Striking off from the Wádí Jeráfah to the right hand, we passed over a part of the table-land to which I have already referred. It was covered everywhere with jaspers and dark coloured flints, and was singularly barren. We then came upon a Wádí called Wádí el-Fahm, or the "Valley of Charcoal." It seemed to be a tributary of a larger Wádí running into the Wádí 'Arabah, and called Wádí el-Heiyání. This Wádí, though not upon the maps, is a very important one. It is much cut and swept by the rains, and has steep banks of the indurated Jura chalk. It contains a great many large acacia trees and bushes, from which the gum Arabic is produced in considerable quantities. Our course throughout the day was E. by N. ½ N., in the direction of Jebel Hárún, or

Mount Hor, which was distinctly in sight during the afternoon. The summits of Jebel esh-Shírah, or Mount Seir, which run parallel to the Wádí 'Arabah, through almost the whole of its range, were visible in front and to our right and left, from the time that we began to notice Mount Hor. The range of Seir, when looked upon from the west, appears very much to the eye of an equable height.

Tuesday, 7th March.—We set in motion this morning at seven o'clock. Our course throughout the whole day was E. by N. ½ E., exactly in the direction of Mount Hor, which we found an excellent landmark. Our Arabs seemed more reconciled to one another than hitherto; and they all appeared to be under the dread of some common, but unseen enemy. It was evident to us from their anxieties, that they had passed the boundaries of their own proper range, and that they did not consider themselves on good terms with their neighbours of the 'Arabah, into whose territories they had entered. They took care to impress us with a high idea of their powers of flight, if not of fight. Having started a hare of full growth, two of them, one of whom was on foot, and the other mounted upon a camel, set off in its pursuit. The rider first gave chase; and then, on his pulling up, the footman, who had been endeavouring to turn the hare by getting upon it by a cross line, followed it with such amazing speed as we had never seen exhibited before by any specimen of the *homo sapiens*. He gained fast upon it; and it stopped for shelter in a small bush. He was at it in a moment, and nearly chopped off its head with his sword. He brought it to us in triumph; but, unlike the Ṭawarahs in similar circumstances, he took precious good care not to offer it to us as a present.

After an hour's march, we came upon one old caravan road, marked by ten or twelve camel tracks, running along the heights by which the Wádí 'Arabah is bounded on the

west. It attracted our particular attention, and led to minute examination. It was cut through by the rains in many places, and large portions of the banks over which it had formerly passed had fallen down. Fragment after fragment of it, however, was visible on both sides of us. We concluded that it must have been connected with Elath (Ailah) or Ezion-gaber in ancient times, and that it is a proof that Kafilahs of merchandise proceeding from the eastern branch of the Red Sea to Gaza, or the south of Judah, did not always keep in the low valley of the 'Arabah. We were about two hours in getting out of what might be called the slopes of the 'Arabah.

On completing the descent, we found a small Wádí furrowing the 'Arabah on the west, called the Ghabíyah. We were unable, from our ocular inspection of it, to say whether its water flows to the north or south, though the general aspect of the country obviously shows that it must go to the north.

We were exactly seven hours in crossing the 'Arabah. Cutting it diagonally, we did not find it so level on its surface as we expected; and, generally speaking, it is as barren as the desert itself. It has commonly a very hard stony bottom. Patches of softer material, but of sand with very little soil in it, here and there occur, especially where there are depressions in its surface. Many boulders and rounded stones, of red and white granite, porphyry, basalt, sandstone, and lime, such as are found in beds of rivers running between mountains of different formations, are in many parts scattered over its surface. On the eastern sides there are beds of alluvial gravel torn up by torrents. The dry bed of one of these torrents, with steep banks, called Wádí el-Gharandel, we found about half a mile in breadth. That this was the bed of a river we had no doubt; and we were quite willing to believe that it must be the bed of the ancient Jordan,

through which its rolling floods passed on to the Red Sea before the destruction of the cities of the plain. The very name which it bears, however, when viewed in connexion with its real source, puts an end to this interesting speculation. It is called the Wádí Gharandel, (Arindela,) because it is the continuation of a large Wádí and winter torrent coming down first in a north-west direction from the heights of Mount Seir, and then, on arriving at the level of the 'Arabah, not passing to the south-west to the Red Sea, but to the north-east to the Dead Sea. It is considerably to the south of the part where it enters the great plain that the drainage of the 'Arabah goes to the Red Sea. Some may think that these facts, whatever they may determine as to the Wádí Gharandel as it now exists, do not conclusively prove that the Jordan may not have passed through the 'Arabah to the Red Sea before the overwhelming of Sodom, Gomorrah, and the other cities of the plain. On the occasion of this catastrophe, they may say, a great alteration may have taken place in the level of the valley throughout its whole extent. An elevation may have occurred in its middle, and a depression in its northern parts. The *extent* of this elevation and depression, necessary to suit the facts of the case, it is to be observed in reply, is such as far to transcend the Scripture narrative. The Dead Sea has been found by the actual measurements of Lieut. Symonds of the Royal Engineers, to be 1312.2 feet, and the lake of Tiberias 328.98 feet, below the level of the Mediterranean.[1] If all this depression took place with the raising of the Wádí 'Arabah above the level of the ocean, when the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire out of heaven,[2] then must God have not only "overthrown those cities and all the plain, (in which they were,) and all the

[1] See Lieut. Symonds' Measurements, in the Relievo Map of Palestine, published by Dobbs and Bailey, of London.

[2] Gen. xix. 24.

inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground,"[1] as the sure word of his testimony informs us; but, if we may judge from any thing we know of the mighty power of an earthquake of the required magnitude, it must, if it took place, have convulsed to their overthrow the whole lands of Canaan, Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the Desert, to the destruction of all their inhabitants. No *such* convulsion took place. Lot, casting his eyes on Zoar, quite proximate to Sodom, said, "This city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live."[2] Into this city he was permitted to flee, and was safe. Abraham, living in the plains of Mamre, near Hebron, had practical cognizance of the execution of the threatened vengeance of God on the cities of the plain, only by his getting up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord, and looking toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and beholding the smoke of the country going up like the smoke of a furnace.[3] Striking as must have been the phenomena which occurred during the storms of fire and brimstone, and the eruptions and submergence which may have been their cause or accompaniments, they certainly fall short of the awful demands of the theory to which I refer. The fact undoubtedly is, that the Wádí 'Arabah and its continuation, the valley of the Jordan, whatever partial changes they may have undergone in our own Adamic era, together form perhaps the most wonderful crevasse in the whole world—a fissure made by volcanic and basaltic eruptions, long before the race of man appeared on the globe.

When we got across the Wádí 'Arabah, the breadth of which in the straight line we estimated at about ten or eleven miles, we came upon a low ridge jutting into it, as

[1] Gen. xix. 25. [2] Gen. xix. 20. [3] Gen. xix. 28.

an outpost from the Idumean range. We partly rounded and partly surmounted this ridge, and pitched our tent in the Wádí which leads up, by a low pass, to the flanks of Mount Hor, and alongside of them to Petra, the wonderful and mysterious SELAH,[1] or city of the rock, which we had come so far through the great and terrible wilderness to inspect. As soon as we were able, we took out our bibles, and read the twentieth chapter of Numbers. This portion of the Divine word carried us back, with melancholy interest, to the times when Israel vainly demanded of his brother Esau a way through his territory, without trespass, or injury, or unrequited favour; and when the consecrated brother of Moses died upon the top of that very mount, the summits of which the sun, sinking in the western wastes, in the ocean of desolation over which we had passed, was still gilding with subdued radiance.

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 7.

Idumean, or Fellah of Wadi Musa.

Mount Hor from the Wadi Arabah.

View of the Rocks of Petra from Aaron's Tomb.

## CHAPTER X.

### EDOM AND THE CITY OF THE ROCK.

Wednesday, 8th March 1843.—We set our artist to work early this morning to make a drawing of Mount Hor from the top of a high mass of rock east of our encampment. The result of his attempt appears in the preceding page in a reduced form. When he was busy with his pencil, we set out upon a geological excursion over the lower ridges of Mount Seir. We were glad that we did so, as our personal inspection of these ranges gave us a far more correct idea of their seemingly complicated formation, than we could get from any of the books in our possession. The fundamental stratified rock we found to be the new red or variegated sandstone, a circumstance worthy of notice, because, when asso-

ciated with the existence of the same rock, with horizontal strata, on the heights of Mount Hor, which we afterwards visited in the course of the day, we had unequivocal evidence of the formation extending to the extraordinary depth of about 1500 feet. Through this rock, there burst longitudinal dykes of red granite and porphyry, running nearly parallel with the range of Mount Seir, and so completely silicifying the sandstone in some parts as to give it the appearance of a primitive rock. Above the red sandstone, we have the Jurassic limestone, so abundant in the Holy Land, and highest of all the cretaceous system, of which we afterwards found the summits of Mount Seir behind Petra to be composed. Over much of the sandstone below, there lie great quantities of alluvial compact conglomerate, principally of chalk, with pebbles and rounded stones, and also large quantities of loose chalk which have been washed down by the heavy rains. The red granite and the dark porphyry cutting through the stratified rocks, so diverse in their colour, and the white debris by which they are covered, presented together a scene so peculiar as to give large scope to our wonderment.

When we returned to breakfast, we found that the whole stock of our water was exhausted; and that one of our sheikhs, who had set out in the morning in search of a supply, had not returned. We determined not to wait his arrival, and we went on to the foot of the pass called the Nakb el-Abu-Sheibah,[1] which leads up to Petra. Here we had the satisfaction of meeting our Arab, with a goatskin filled with the precious element, the want of which had begun to create in us some uneasiness. He had found a supply, after a long search, in the clefts of one of the adjoining rocks. Our breakfast was soon made ready; and we

[1] The Paibouchebe of Laborde.

partook of it with great thankfulness, seated on the ledge of a rock, and shaded from the burning sun by another of greater altitude.

We occupied less than our usual time at this our first meal this morning; and with more than common interest and excitement, we began the ascent of the pass. Near its commencement we noticed a small excavation to the left, which, though not very remarkable in its appearance, we eagerly entered, as the first of the artificial caverns which, in these parts, were destined so much to attract our attention. In its vicinity we found some old ruins raised a little above their foundations, and called by the Arabs Abu-Sheibah. It is from them that the pass receives its name. They probably mark the site of an ancient fortlet, by which it must have been commanded, or a place of custom where the transit dues may have been exacted on the goods carried into the great commercial depôt of Petra. The rocks, and hills, and mountains before us, were wild and romantic, perhaps beyond any thing which we had seen on this journey; but, in grandeur and sublimity, they are certainly surpassed by the Sinaitic group.

When we got to the summits of the pass, after much laborious travel and toil, during most of which we had been climbing on foot, and when our Ḳafilah had begun to descend into the depths of Petra, along the south-east flank of Mount Hor, we cast a longing and wistful eye on that conspicuous eminence itself, and on the Ḳabar Hárún by which it is crowned. Scarcely a moment was left us for deliberation. We concluded, that as the Felláḥín of Wádí Músá are represented as averse to its being visited by strangers, our best hope of reaching it lay in the attempt to accomplish the achievement before these Felláḥín could be aware of our arrival in the place. We ordered the whole of our Arabs and servants, with the exception of one of the Tiyáhah, quietly

to proceed to Petra, to pitch our tents in the valley, and to expect our arrival at night; and, on getting rid of them, we commenced the ascent of Mount Hor on its western side. We were more desirous of success than sanguine about its attainment. We remembered the disappointment of Burckhardt and some other travellers, and the difficulties encountered by the parties who were more fortunate. For about twenty minutes we had something like soil on the heights, with many small bushes of the juniper cedar, and the remains of terraces, formerly used in cultivation, and consequently pretty easy work; but in the higher parts of the mountain, we had nothing but the bare sandstone cliffs. The precipitous scarps which they form, are regulated by the extent of their strata, formidable in appearance to the person aspiring to surmount them, and formidable on actual trial, particularly as we were quite unacquainted with the usual path of ascent, and the single Arab who was with us knew nothing of the locality. We hoisted and pulled one another, and grasped and crept and climbed, as best we could. At one or two places we found the work sufficiently trying to our heads and nerves, as well as to our hands and feet; and it was only by rendering to one another mutual assistance that we were able to make any progress. About a hundred and fifty feet from the top, we came to a dead-stand, or rather were threatened with a dead-fall; but after a little breathing, we actually took by storm the remaining walls of rock. Near the crown of the height, we found a gash in the mountain, with a ledge of rock overhanging it; and in this cut, after passing an ancient archway and gate, we found a regular series of steps which conducted us to the very summit.

After the greatness and peril of the effort which we had been compelled to make, we should, in ordinary circumstances, have been elated with the success which we had experienced; but the wild sublimity, and grandeur, and terror

of the new and wonderful scene around and underneath us, overawed our souls. We were seated on the very throne, as it appeared to us, of Desolation itself. Its own metropolis of broken, and shattered, and frowning heights—ruin piled upon ruin, and dark and devouring depth added to depth, —lay on our right hand and on our left. To the rising sun, Mount Seir, the pride and the glory of Edom, and the terror of its adversaries, lay before us—smitten in its length and breadth by the hand of the Almighty stretched out against it—barren and most desolate, with its daughter, the "city of the rock," overthrown and prostrate at its feet. To the west, we had the great and terrible wilderness, with its deserts, and pits, and droughts, spread out before us, without any limit but its own vastness, and pronounced by God himself to be the very "shadow of death."[1] We could not restrict our attention to the awful scene, unparalleled though it was in our experience, as combining the terrors of both the Almighty power and avenging justice of God. It was the type and representation to us of that day of the Lord, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Would that we had taken home to ourselves with greater seriousness than we did, the solemn counsel, "Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God."[2]

When we were on the summits of Mount Hor, we were exceedingly anxious to have such a drawing made as might enable our friends at home to sympathize with any allusion which we might make to the peculiar nature of the scene then unfolded to our view. Our young draughtsman devoted a couple of hours to a sketch, which I am obliged to give in

[1] Jer. ii. 6. [2] 2 Peter iii. 11, 12.

a very reduced form.[1] It comprehends a part of Mount Seir, with the valleys, and chasms, and ravines of Petra indistinctly seen intervening between it and Mount Hor. Of the general form of the wild and broken scenery of the mountain and rock, and chasm and cleft, it gives a correct outline. Had more time been allowed for its preparation, it would doubtless have been more definitive and impressive. With great accuracy, it is remarked by Captains Irby and Mangles, who were the first Europeans in modern times to ascend to the spot where it was made, that "an artist who would study rock scenery in all its wildest and most extravagant forms, and in colours which to one who has not seen them, would scarcely appear to be in nature, would find himself rewarded should he resort to Mount Hor for that sole purpose."[2] Mount Seir, which we reckoned to rise above the plains of the Arabah about 3500 feet, is of white chalk; and its strata, rising in many places in successive terraces, have the appearance of dipping to the east. It embosoms on three sides the purple, and orange, and rose-coloured sandstone, forming the natural walls of Petra, and the body and crags of Mount Hor itself, and extends to a distance on the west, strangely diversified in its hue and shading, by the eruptions of granite, porphyry, and basalt, which we have already noticed.

Amidst all our musings on these interesting scenes, we could not forget that the spot on which we stood is supposed to be that on which the venerable Aaron ascended to die, and where he was "gathered to his people" in the unseen world. We entered what is reputed to be his tomb; but we found it to be apocryphal in its present construction, at least in its upper story. It is nothing more than a small Muhammadan mosk, of no great antiquity. The door, which is at

[1] See heading to this chapter.

[2] Irby and Mangles, Travels, p. 439.

the west corner, is raised about two feet, and it is about four feet high, exclusive of the arch above, which is an arc of a circle. The wall is strongly built of red sandstone, about four feet thick. The roof, which is flat, rests upon two rows of double arches of the Saracenic form. The area within, is eleven paces by nine and a half. At its north end there is a Muhammadan sepulchre of the ordinary length, of three feet in height, and of a few inches less in breadth It has a stone in front, with an Arabic inscription in the Cufic character, of part of which I made a copy. It commences in the usual style with the words, "In the name of God the merciful and the gracious: there is no god but God, and Muhammad is his messenger." Had time and light permitted, I should have transcribed the whole of it. It probably refers to some Muhammadan sheikh. Four little marble pillars of unequal workmanship at the end of the tomb, were most worthy of notice. They had not belonged to it originally, but to some other erection. One of them had the name of a Jew, "Joseph Cohen," if I made it out correctly,—rudely cut in it in the square Hebrew character, and formed a presumption that some son of Abraham considered that the resting-place of his great progenitor is in this vicinity. The whole of this upper part of the building, in fact, is a sort of patchwork, composed of various fragments, belonging to an older erection, and some remains of which are probably found in the vault or grotto beneath. We descended into this inferior apartment by a few steps which lead to it; but, from the absence of light, we could do nothing but poke about in it with our staves. Irby and Mangles say, "It is difficult to distinguish whether it is built or hollowed out. It appeared, in great part at least, a grotto; the roof is covered, but the whole is rude, ill-fashioned, and quite dark; the sheikh, who was not informed that we were Christians, a circumstance which our guide was not aware of, fur-

nished us with a lamp of butter. Towards the farther end of this dark vault lie the two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb of the prophet. They have, however, been thrown down, and we advanced so as to touch it; it was covered by a ragged pall. We were obliged to descend barefooted, and were not without apprehensions of treading on scorpions or other reptiles in such a place."[1] The acquaintance of the kind sheikh of the tomb, who was absent when we visited it, we afterwards made at Petra. He waited upon us there, to demand a backshish for the privilege which he conjectured we had enjoyed, of seeing Nabí Hárún,—the prophet Aaron himself. Irby and Mangles say of him, in 1818, "He is a decrepit old man, who has lived here during the space of forty years."[2] He is now greatly oppressed with the burden of age, and, shall I add, with the burden of vestments and robes, which the liberality of his admirers has enabled him to lay upon his frail shoulders. I have seen many devotees in the east, both Hindú and Muhammadan; but few who have succeeded so well in benumbing their mental faculties as this poor deluded Fakír. Here is his *vera effigies* as he stood before our tents in Wádí Músá. A picture of his inner man would, no doubt, prove interesting; but it

[1] Travels, pp. 436, 437.

[2] Ibid. p. 435.

is difficult to analyze the strange attractions and sympathies which have bound him so long to the solitary summits of Mount Hor, and the grave of a distinguished servant of God, for whom the Arabs cherish a deep and mysterious reverence, though little informed of his true character, his relations, or his achievements.[1] It is in connexion with mourning for the dead, and in an unreasonable attempt to hold communion with departed spirits,—not so much as introduced into the regions of life and light, but as depressed with the gloom and corruption of the grave,—that ascetism probably first originated. The attempt was made to assimilate the present and the absent; and whatever success was obtained, was viewed as a commendable withdrawment from this world, and a suitable preparation for the next. Individuals were found willing to make themselves the representatives or embodiments of the general sympathy; and the public approbation which reached them in their remotest seclusion, —for though they disdained to visit the world, they were willing that the children of the world should visit them,— more than a desire to cultivate personal discipline and purgation, formed the rich reward of their self-denial and austerities.

Passing from this matter, I must say, that in the opinion both of Mr. Smith and myself, the erections on the summits of the mount of which I write, though comparatively modern in their repairs and present form, may not be modern in their original construction. Admitting, however, that Aaron was really buried at the very spot which they cover, it would be too much positively to infer from the sacred narrative, that his grave originally had any distinctive mark. Moses and Eleazar, his only companions so far as we know when he ascended the mount, do not appear to have even

[1] The notices of Moses contained in the Korán are extensive; but of Aaron little is there said. He is represented as the *Wazir* of his brother, the hero of Israel.—Koran, cap. xx.

called for the assistance of any of the other Israelites on the occasion of his interment. In the book of Numbers it is simply said:—"They went up into Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there on the top of the mount. And Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. And when all the congregation *saw that Aaron was dead*, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel."[1] Perhaps, the Israelites had not even at this time the opportunity afforded them of visiting the tomb of their illustrious high-priest, lest their veneration for man might, by any possibility, be allowed to degenerate into disaffection to God. It was perhaps for this very reason, that God buried Moses himself "in a valley over against Bethpeor;" and that "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."[2]

Jebel Hárún, both near and at a distance, is the most striking and remarkable elevation of the range of es-Shírah, or Seir, and standing out with peculiarity of form and special prominence, is in all probability that very elevation which would originally receive the name of הר הָהָר Hor ha-Hor,[3] or "Hor the mountain," emphatically so called, and which name, though extended to the whole range of Seir, it would distinctively retain. It occurs exactly where Josephus says Mount Hor was, that is, in the neighbourhood of Petra.[4] The name Jebel Hárún, which it bears among all the Arab tribes, and that quite independently of all monkish conjec-

[1] Numb. xx. 27-29.
[2] Deut. xxxiv. 6.
[3] Numb. xx. 24.
[4] The statement of Josephus is very important. "And he (Moses) came to the district which the Arabians reckon their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but is now denominated Petra, (Πέτραν δὲ νῦν ὀνομαζομένην.) At this place, which was surrounded by high mountains, Aaron ascended to the summit of one of them, in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die."—Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. iv. cap. iv. 7.

tures, as well as the fact now alluded to, leads us to identify it with the height on which Aaron died. The Israelites were probably encamped when that event occurred, in the recess in the Wádí 'Arabah, near the commencement of the defile by which we ascended, and not in Wádí Músá ("the Valley of Moses") or Petra. We do not read of their entering into the interior of Edom at that time. All that is said of them in Scripture is, that the "Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron by the *coast* of the land of Edom;" and Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar "went up into Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation." Perhaps the Edomites had their capital at this time, not at Petra, but at Bozrah, the present Buṣeirah, or some other town lying to the north of their territories. The only unequivocal mention of a town corresponding with Petra in the sacred Scripture, is in 2 Kings xiv. 7, in which it is said of Amaziah, king of Judah, that "he slew of Edom in the valley of Salt (Wádí 'Arabah) ten thousand, and took *Selah* (or the Rock, equivalent to Petra in Greek) by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day;" and in Isaiah xvi. 1, where we read, "Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land from Sela to the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion." In these instances, Petra is most probably the town to which specific reference is made.[1]

We continued on Mount Hor till the sinking sun admonished us to leave its summits. We did not find the descent by any means so difficult as the ascent. This was owing to our discovering a pathway, which gently winds along its south-eastern flank. We found a tolerable soil on that side of the mount, the "terraces of Aaron," as they are called by the Arabs, supporting plants and bushes, particu-

[1] Abulfeda gives it the Arabic name of *Hajar*, which exactly corresponds with the Hebrew Selah and the Greek Petra. Geograph. Nub., clim. iii. part. 3.

larly of juniper, and several small plots of ground laid out for cultivation. When the sun failed us, when we got to the road which leads to Petra, we had tolerable light from the moon, which had just completed its first quarter; and its effect on the red sandstone cliffs, among which we were passing, was sombre but pleasing, making their hue something like that of the planet Mars when seen through a telescope. The tail of the comet, arching the chasm through which we were passing, added to the romance of our journey.[1] We noticed the mouths of the tombs and caverns on our right and left; but we had no inclination to grope our way into them in the dark. On the contrary, we had some indefinite apprehension that man or beast might rush out from them, to our alarm, if not our injury. Had we met with any opposition here, we should not have been able to betake ourselves either to flight or resistance. Our feet were quite sore with walking over the hard rocks; and we were so tired that we could scarcely drag them along. Our Arabs and servants, who had but little sympathy with the curiosity which had been our incentive throughout the day, had begun to wonder at our long delay; and just as we were about to enter the ramparts of Petra, at the north-west corner, where the road from Mount Hor enters Wádí Músá, we found a strong party of them, armed to the very teeth, coming in search of us. We commended them for their attention, though we did not require their services; and, stumbling over rubbish and ruins, we at length reached our tents, pitched under the shelter of the rocks, near the south-west corner of the valley, where the brook issues from the southern pass. We had the satisfaction of learning that the Messrs. Vaudrey, from Liverpool, of whom we had heard at Cairo, had arrived at Petra in the course of the day, under charge

of the Alawín Arabs, and were in the possession of a tomb in our vicinity. We saw their wild conductors warming themselves round a large fire which they had kindled.

In connexion with our social worship this evening, we perused the principal passages of the prophets which refer to Edom, the solemn doom and destruction of which God has called the nations of the earth to witness.[1]

9th March.—Owing to the excess of our fatigue yesterday, we were scarcely able to go to sleep during the night. Throughout its greatest stillness, we heard for hours the nocturnal birds of prey, both great and small, crying to their mates; and we came to the conclusion, that whatever might be the character of the locality in which we were, it was certainly "a court for owls."[2] Towards morning, our Arabs endeavoured to give a false alarm, by declaring that a hostile tribe was coming down upon them; and they insisted upon our making off from Wádí Músá, with bag and baggage, without an hour's delay. We were quite prepared for a feint of this kind, intended, no doubt, to abbreviate, for their convenience, our stay in the place; and we determined, at all hazards, to put ourselves, for the time being, entirely beyond the control of those who had brought us hither, and who had all along shown that they had little or no interest in the objects of our travel—no inclination to consult either our convenience or our comfort. We sent for Sheikh Suleimán, now at the head of the Felláhín of Wádí Músá; and we got him engaged in a peaceful conversation. On our blaming him, and the people of his tribe, for their want of hospitality and kindness to the strangers who, in past years, had come from distant lands to examine the wonders of the place, he solemnly declared that all along they had been misunder-

[1] Isaiah xxxiv. 5-17; Jer. xlix. 7-22; Lam. iv. 21, 22; Ezek. xxv. 12-14; xxxv. 15; xxxvi. 5; Joel iii. 19; Amos i. 6, 9, 11; Obad. i. 1-19; Mal. i. 4.

[2] Isaiah xxxiv. 13.

stood and misrepresented. "We wish only," he said in his own way, "to maintain our own rights; but these are not respected by the camel-sheikhs, and the English and French gentlemen whom they conduct to our valleys. While they are here, they seek to put our own authority in abeyance. They despise the protection which we are ready and willing to afford. They set their camels loose, to destroy our small pasturage and even our crops; and they never think of repairing the damage which they do to us. They sometimes make demands on our service, without recompensing us for it, and carry off the provisions which they get from us without paying us. But these evils we are determined to tolerate no longer. We have five hundred stand of arms; and we are determined to use them. We shall show that our injured tribe is as strong as any which can oppose us." "We are men of peace," we said in reply, "and we have no wish to fight. Most of the Franks who have come to Wádí Músá have likewise been men of peace; but they may have made a mistake in treating with their Arab conductors, instead of with yourselves, the occupants of these territories. We have made no agreement with our Arabs in your behalf; and we shall be happy to give you reasonable remuneration for the protection which you may afford, the supplies you may furnish, the services you may render to us, and the damage which may be done to you by any of our people." On this declaration, the sheikh's countenance brightened; and complimenting us for our consideration, he added, "This is all we want, and for a hundred piastres for each of you, and for daily wages to your attendants, you are welcome to stay with us as long as you please." The bargain was instantly closed; and he told us that he would let us have as many men as we pleased, to show us every thing in the place, answer all our inquiries, and render to us whatever services we might exact. He was perfectly faithful to his engagements; and

he frequently visited us to inquire if his men did their duty, and to mark our progress in our researches. During the other days we continued at Petra, we did not meet with the slightest impediment or annoyance. We informed our Arabs, that while we remained at Wádí Músá, we were under the protection of the Felláḥín; and we ordered them to remain quiet till we were prepared to take our departure.

After breakfast, we were joined by the Messrs. Vaudrey, who, as I have mentioned, had come to Petra under the guidance of the Alawín Arabs, to whom they had been handed over by the Ṭawarah at Akabah, to which place they had gone direct from Mount Sinai. The son of the notorious sheikh, Husein, rather an interesting looking lad, commanded their guard. I had with him some conversation. Like all the other Badáwín whom we met on our journey, he was unable to read. I gave him a present of an Arabic Atlas, lithographed at Malta, in which, after I explained it to him, he seemed to feel a considerable interest. I added to it a religious tract in Arabic, in the hope that some time or other he might find a person who might be able to read to him and his friends. The sheikh of the Felláḥín said that he would hold either him or his hosts, the Vaudreys, responsible for sums equivalent to those which we had promised for ourselves.

Before we had made an excursion from our tents, a sad accident, which greatly damped our spirits, and excited our anxiety, befel one of our little party. Our young Pársí friend Dhanjibhái, when on his way in the morning to Mount Hor, where he had left my Hebrew bible by mistake on the preceding evening, was severely wounded by the bursting of his gun, which he had pointed at a partridge, and which had probably been overloaded by his Arab attendant. He was brought into Petra quite faint from the loss of blood, and suffering much from pain consequent on the dreadful mang-

ling of one of his hands, which was much torn and burnt, and broken in the fingers. Our surgical resources were poor indeed; but we did the best which circumstances permitted. I tied the hand over the board of a book, setting and arranging the fingers as well as I could, and covered it with linen, which was kept moist by olive oil, the only medicament fit for application to the surface of the body which we had in our boxes. From time to time I dressed the hand, always disposing of and treating it in a similar manner, and through the kind providence of God, the use of it was in due time quite restored. The care which we took of our patient made a great impression on the Arabs who were with us, confirming them in the belief that all Europeans are more or less physicians. It is worthy of notice, that among the Jews, *oil*, and not *ointment*, was the great medical emollient.[1]

As we expected to remain nearly a week at Petra, and had no apprehensions of ill-treatment from the Felláḥín, we determined to make, if possible, a complete exploration of its wonders. Before entering, however, on their particular inspection, we resolved to make a general survey of the locality and the objects of interest which it presents to the view, that we might make a right apportionment of our time when called to deal with them in the detail. When we sallied forth from our tents, our Arabs drew their swords to drive away the Felláḥín who were ready to accompany us; but we speedily ordered them to confine their attention to their camels. On this the Felláḥín gave a shout of triumph, and sought to come with us, in the hope of reward, in great numbers. We selected two or three from them as our guides, and dismissed the rest. We perambulated the valley and its adjoining ravines, with Laborde's plan in our hands; and we found it to be fully as correct as we expected. The

[1] See Isaiah i. 6, (in the Hebrew); Luke x. 34.

length of the valley from north to south, is about 1500 yards, and its breadth at the north end about 500, while at its south end, by the gradual contraction of the rocks in this quarter, it is only about 250 yards. Independently of the ruins by which it is covered, it is far from being level on the surface; and several rounded and conical masses of rock protrude from it on both sides of the small stream of es-Sik, entering it from the south, by which it is bisected. It is surrounded on all sides by precipitous rocks, rising to a height of from 200 to 1000 feet, except on the north and south, where they are lower than the smaller of these numbers. These rocks are entirely of the new red or variegated sandstone, presenting almost every variety of colour and hue on which the eye can rest. At a single view, we had before us the following colours in the strata, which we marked on the spot,—tile, flesh, and rose red; reddish, blackish, and pinchbeck brown; ochre yellow and yellowish-white. We had occasion to notice the accuracy of the following account by Captains Irby and Mangles:—"Nowhere is the extraordinary colouring of these mountains more striking than in the road to the tomb of Aaron which we followed, where the rock sometimes presented a deep, sometimes a paler blue, and sometimes was occasionally streaked with red, or shaded off to lilac or purple; sometimes a salmon colour was veined in waved lines and circles, with crimson and even scarlet, so as to resemble exactly the colour of raw meat; in other places are livid stripes of yellow or bright orange, and in some places all the different colours were ranged side by side in parallel strata. It is this wonderful variety of colours observable throughout the whole range of mountains that gives to Petra one of its most characteristic beauties."[1] The rock, I may add, is highly saliferous, so much so that the Arabs, as we witnessed, are in the habit of scraping it with

[1] Irby and Mangles, Travels, pp. 433, 434.

their knives to obtain a supply of saltpetre, from which, with the addition of charcoal, and brimstone, which they told us they buy from pedlars from Hebron and Damascus, they make their own gunpowder. The rock evidently has originally been formed in a salt-water lake. It was after repeated perambulations of the valley, and an examination of the gulleys which lead into it, and an ascent of the heights around it, that we ventured to form any opinion of the manner in which the valley itself has been formed. We could see no indication of its being a mere fissure, caused by an eruption or movement from below. The ravines which lead into it have not the appearance of chasms caused by the rending of an earthquake. They are evidently channels formed by the waters acting on the soft material of which the rock is composed. Coming down from the various heights by which the valley is now surrounded on some depression or other on the top of the rock,—from which at the same time they have found egress,—they have gradually enlarged and deepened it, and formed a fresh-water lake, especially till the waters found a subterraneous exit from it by the passage through the rocks on the western side of the valley through which they now flow. There is a gradual inclination of the surface of the valley to the present rivulet, which shows what influence it has had in giving form to its neighbourhood. There are also numerous new and small channels and hollows now forming by the rains on the top of the rocks, similar in kind to those which must have been found here before the general drainage of the country, as it now exists, was established.

It is easy to see how such a locality as Wádí Músá, surrounded on all sides by barriers of rock, generally insurmountable, and presenting very few entrances, and these easily defensible, should have been anciently selected as the site of a city. The softness and beauty of its natural walls, and of its weather-worn caverns and overhanging cliffs, could not

fail to suggest the facility with which suitable abodes could be provided in it both for the dead and the living, and provoke a decoration of them by the hand of the sculptor or excavator, as soon as they might come into the possession of a people of any taste or refinement. Never were art and nature more advantageously combined than in this wondrous locality. There is much truth in the observations of Laborde respecting it:—The traveller "discovers within his horizon the most singular spectacle, the most enchanting picture which nature has wrought in her grandest mood of creation, which men, influenced by the vainest dreams of ambition have yet bequeathed to the generations which were to follow them. At Palmyra nature renders the works of man insignificant, by her own immensity and her boundless horizon, within which some hundreds of columns seem entirely lost; here, on the contrary, she appears delighted to set in her own noble frame-work his productions, which aspire, and not unsuccessfully, to harmonize with her own majestic, yet fantastic appearance."[1] With Petra, the traveller, however high his expectations may be, experiences no disappointment. The best drawings of its different parts which have yet been published by a Laborde and a Roberts, fall short of conveying an adequate idea of its physical features and artificial apportionments and decorations. The accounts which have been given of it, however erroneous in some of their details, are far from making a general impression beyond the reality.

Among what may be called the remains of Petra, the *excavated* tombs, temples, cisterns, aqueducts, staircases, and private dwellings, with their frequent façades and colonnades, are those, of course, which have been best preserved, and which

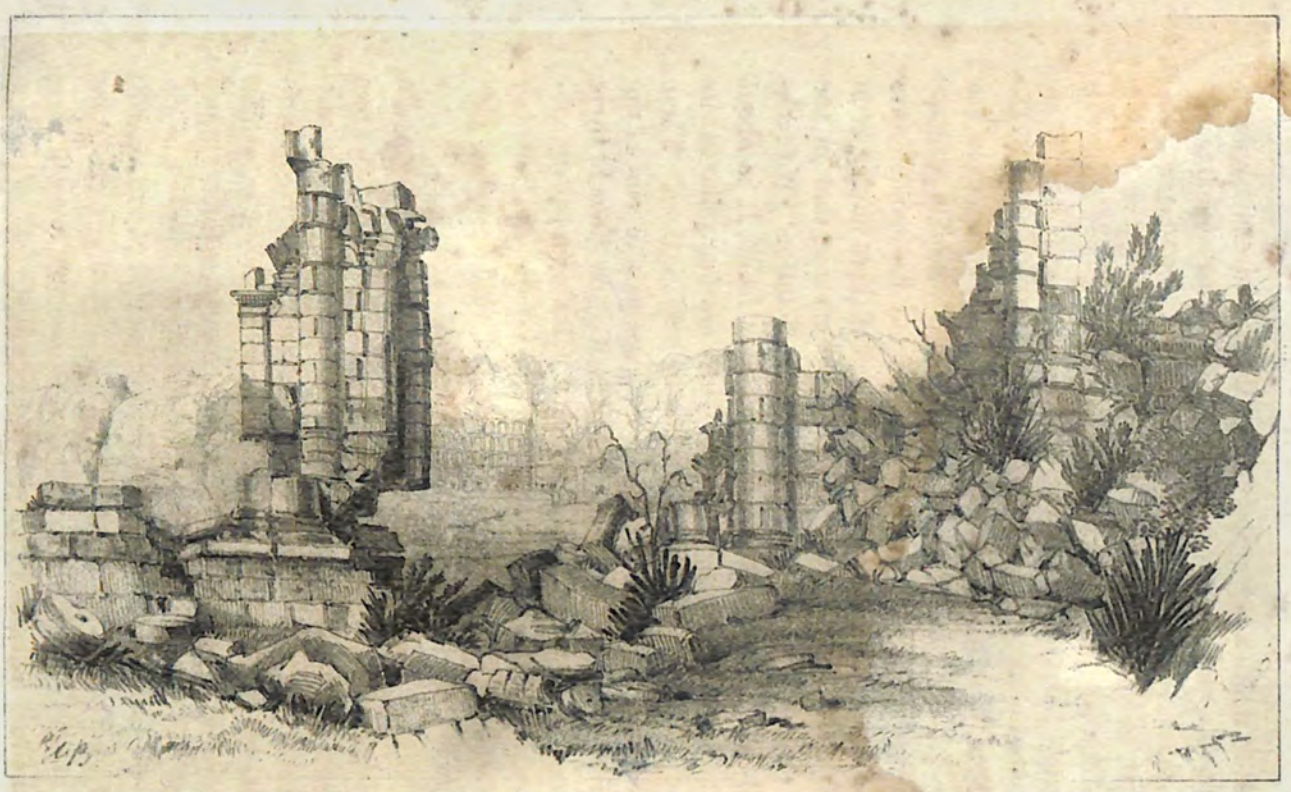
[1] Laborde's Journey through Arabia Petræa, etc. Eng. Trans. p. 149.

are most striking and attractive. The first thing which we did, however, when we commenced our special survey, was to choose a spot from which the ruins of the fallen *buildings* of the town, in which the major part of its population must have been accommodated, could be most advantageously viewed and represented. This we found on the western side of the valley, near the eastern margin of the rivulet which flows through it. Hewn stones, formerly used in different kinds of edifices, public and private, are there, as in other places, seen scattered about in all directions, and in some places covering the ground to a considerable depth. Numerous foundations and broken walls rising, with one or two exceptions, but little from the ground, are also visible. These ruins, and those corresponding with them in the destroyed walls of the terraces for cultivation on Mount Seir, and the covering of the soil by their fragments, as well as the washing of that soil down from the heights, are, we conceived, most impressive indications of the desolations of Edom, and those very desolations referred to by the prophet, who denounced its doom when he said, "He (God) shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness."[1] We were the more struck with these unequivocal indications of the devastation of the capital and country of Edom, that we had observed that in some interesting books of travel, and comments on prophecy founded on them, certain parts of Idumea, which appear to have been included in the desert from the very beginning, and formed part of that original terribleness of Idumea, which contri-

[1] Isaiah xxxiv. 11. This passage is rendered by some, as by Gesenius,

And he shall stretch out upon it
the line of wasteness,
And the plummet of desolation.

This agrees perfectly with the Hebrew paralysm, and does not essentially alter the general meaning, as showing the universality and completeness and method of the devastation. The word rendered plummet, however, is plural in the original.



Gateway looking to the Palace at Petra.

buted to nourish her pride of heart, have inadvertently been set forth as desolations caused in the providence of God posterior to the solemn warnings of his inspired messengers.

The only considerable ruin in Petra connected with a building, is that denominated by the natives el-Ḳaṣr, or the palace. Laborde, who gives two correct drawings of it in his sumptuous work, one by himself and another by M. Linant, calls it a temple, but for what reason he does not state. Its small supply of light appears the only circumstance seemingly favouring his idea; but its division into three apartments, and some indications of there having been more than one story in it, seem clearly to show, that in the day of its glory, it was a mansion of habitation. We reckoned the height at about forty or fifty feet. It is about thirty-five paces along the side. There are four pillars at its entrance in the front, and a veranda behind them. There is a magnificent arch, under which we pass to one of the apartments. It runs E.S.E. and W.N.W. At its side there are two arches in the arc of the circle. Its style is very substantial, and its stones have been all regularly cut from the sandstone of the Wádí. Some beams of wood have been interposed between the layers. Its frieze and cornice are tastefully ornamented; and when perfect they must have been very imposing. To the east of it there stand the pillars and supports of its Báb, or gateway, as it is probably rightly called by the Felláḥín, or of a triumphal arch, as it is denominated by Laborde, with most of the stones used in the fabric fallen at its base. A regular pavement,—set by pretty large tablets, with piles of stone on each side, including pedestals and other fragments,—intervenes between the palace and what must have formed its grand entrance. The ruins of the gateway are very striking, and the view through them to the east and north-east of the excavated rocks is particularly fine. Both in the interior of the palace, and in what

must have been its adjoining enclosures, there are many bushes and shrubs growing, such as we should expect to find in any similar body of ruins, as brooms, thistles, nettles, thorns, and others of a like sort. It is impossible to look at them in the place in which they are found, without recalling to mind the language of the prophet, "Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof,"[1] though, even in their absence, no one who reflects on the fact, that all the palaces and fortresses of the Edomites, which, doubtless, the prophet had principally in his eye, have been totally destroyed many ages ago, could venture to allege that the desolations foretold were not realized even before the Christian era to the full extent of the meaning of the language employed, be it interpreted either generally, or as specifically descriptive, either as the colouring and shading of a portrait of complete destruction, drawn by the unerring hand of God, or an enumeration by name of the precise lines and lineaments of that picture. Though they are formed in connexion with a fabric, which, from the style of its architecture, appears to have been erected either by the Greeks, or the Romans, their imitators, they are not to be overlooked as the indices of the *continued* desolations of Idumea, which are set forth in the several places of holy writ, in which it is said, that all its cities shall be "perpetual wastes;"[2] "I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return;"[3] "When the whole earth rejoiceth I will make thee desolate;"[4] "They shall build, but I will throw down;"[5]— and which passages unequivocally show, to say the very least, that the desolations of Idumea will not be repaired previous to those of Judah and the land of Israel, or even, if at all, by any people in hostility to the cause of God. "The house of

[1] Isaiah xxxiv. 13.
[2] Jer. xlix. 13.
[3] Ezek. xxxv. 9.
[4] Ezek. xxxv. 14.
[5] Mal. i. 4.

Jacob shall possess their possessions, and there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau."[1]

Several of the other mounds of ruins, or rather foundations, we attempted to trace; but we were unsuccessful in our endeavours to reduce them to particular form. They are very extensive, showing that the city, in the days of old, must have been much crowded with public and private edifices. One of them indicates a very large building. An isolated column, and the frustra of some of its associates, which seem to have had a very gentle fall, particularly attract attention. Our guides called it by the name of el-Muzánah, and not by the indecent name mentioned by Burckhardt.

In the examination of the *excavations* of Petra, which form its greatest attraction to the traveller, we commenced with those on the northern side of the valley. As a minute description of them individually, without figures to illustrate them, would only to no purpose exhaust the patience of my gracious reader, I shall be brief in the notices which I may give of some of the most remarkable of them.

An unfinished tomb, with the capitals of four pillars making their appearance, and intended to have been superior to some others in its execution and style, is worthy of attention, as it shows that in making the ornamental excavations, the workmen have commenced from above. The same thing, I have observed, has been usually done in the case of the celebrated cave temples at Elephanta, Salsette, Ellora, Ajantá, and other places in the west of India. In fact, it is obviously the easiest way of proceeding. At an insulated rock in the valley called the Farísah,[2] containing several plain chambers, the sandstone is most curiously tinted with almost all the varieties of colour which have been already noticed.

[1] Obadiah v. 17, 18.

[2] Qu. Lion's prey?

There is a great multitude of excavations on both sides of the defile by which the brook of Wádí Músá makes its escape through the rocks. Many of them contain merely a single apartment of no great dimensions ; and are obviously tombs. Not a few of them are at present quite inaccessible. One of them, called the Tusha, (?) has five pilasters, with representations of lions below. Along the adjoining cliffs are many excavations connected with two terraces, and rising one above another, but much broken and injured, with staircases leading to them. We spent more than a couple of hours in exploring them ; for though they were not very remarkable in point of art, being of the most simple construction, many of them unequivocally appeared to us to have been the abodes of the living, and not of the dead ; and on this account were deserving of notice, particularly as Dr. Robinson—whose opinion would have been entitled to carry much weight with it, had his stay in Petra permitted him fully to examine its wonders—has stated his belief that all the excavations of Petra are merely tombs.[1] In these excavations we sometimes found apartments and recesses which did not at all appear fitted for the reception of coffins or sarcophagi, but obviously intended for family convenience. Some of them have windows as well as doors. In front of two or three of them are receptacles for water. They are approachable by a common way, exactly such as the wants of living inhabitants would suggest, and which has probably formerly been guarded by a railing. Some of them were held by Mr. Smith, my intrepid companion, who noticed all the peculiarities to which I now refer, and formed the same opinion as myself respecting them, to have been magazines, or what in India are called *go-downs*, for holding merchandise. The original caverns in the rocks of Petra would doubtless suggest them-

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 532.

VIEW FROM THE CHASM LEADING TO THE DÈIR AT PETRA.

selves as suitable abodes for a simple people. It is perhaps not too much to consider such residences, as well as the peculiar mountainous position of the cities of Edom, as referred to by the prophet Jeremiah. "Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clifts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill, though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from hence, saith the Lord."[1]

Going along this defile, into which the brook enters, we find a very romantic chasm coming down from the west and north. It is wild and precipitous to an extraordinary degree, and we were unable to ascend by it to the celebrated excavation called the Deir, or "the convent," which we had first noticed when on the summits of Mount Hor. The defile

[1] Jer. xlix. 16. When these observations were made, I had not seen the very valuable work of Captains Irby and Mangles, in which quite similar representations are made respecting the very excavations to which they refer. "There are grottos in great numbers, which were certainly not sepulchral, especially near the Palace; there is one in particular which presents a front of four windows, with a large and lofty doorway in the centre. In the interior, one chamber of about sixty feet in length, and of a breadth proportioned, occupies three of the windows and the door at the lower end; the fourth window seems allotted to a very small sleeping chamber, which is not brought down to the level of the floor of the great apartment, but has a chamber below it of the same size, receiving no light but from the entrance. This, which seems the best of all the excavated residences, has no ornament whatever on the exterior; and the same applies to all the other excavations of this nature. The access to this house is by a shelf gained out of the side of the mountain;[2] other inferior habitations open upon it, and more particularly an oven and some cisterns. These antique dwellings are close to an angle of the mountain, where the bed of the stream, after having traversed the city, passes again into a narrow defile, along whose steep sides an excavated suburb is continued, of very small and mean chambers, set one above another, without much regularity, like so many pigeon-holes in the rock, with flights of steps or narrow inclined plains leading up to them; the main-wall and ceiling only of some were in the solid, the fronts and partitions being built of very indifferent masonry with cement."—Irby and Mangles' Travels, pp. 426, 427.

[2] "He that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock."—Isaiah xxii. 16.

which leads to it commences at the north-west corner of the valley. It is exceedingly rough and broken; but it is rendered practicable by flights of steps cut in the terraces of the solid rock wherever they are necessary, and extending, with a few interruptions here and there, through the whole of its length. The tombs at its entrance are exceedingly plain. One of them, about half way up the ascent, is rather of large dimensions. It was called by our guides the Maghárah, or "Cave" *par excellence.* As we advanced up the defile, we were much struck with the picturesque and fantastic appearance of the divided and overhanging rocks of pink and purple on each side of us, and with the monuments of nature and art which, here and there looking through the long and irregular vista, we saw in the valley below. On a pencil representation of this extraordinary scenery, including the great tombs in the south of that valley, our draughtsman spent much of his time at Petra. He produced a piece of drawing which has been much admired. No reduction of it which has been attempted, however, has proved satisfactory.

Winding to the top of the defile, we came to a considerable platform, mostly enclosed by rocks, where the Deir, the principal object on this high and retired spot, presented itself to our view in all its imposing grandeur, and beauty, though not perfection, of art. It is wholly cut out of the solid rock, which is here so regular and compact, that scarcely a single flaw could have been originally revealed in it. It has suffered very little, either from the waste of time, or the stroke of the hand of man, except in the steps by which there is the ascent to its door, and the parts which are with it on a corresponding level. Its front, occupying the greater part of the mass of the rock out of which it is cut, has two stories, with niches with pedestals between the pillars by which it is ornamented. Within, it is perfectly simple. There is there a large room, of the same height as the door,

varying from 49 to 35 feet in length, by about 42 in breadth, and terminating in a recess of 5½ by 3 paces, containing an elevation like an altar, with four steps on each side. We had not the slightest doubt, both from its appearance and the nature of the road to it, that it was used as a public temple. The ground before it is nearly level. Opposite to it, however, there is a lofty rock, with excavations, on which several steps are cut, by which the ascent to it can be made. We sat upon it for some time, greatly enjoying the marvellous scene around us, and particularly looking upwards, over the elevations and abysses, to Mount Hor, from which we had first seen this the highest portion of Petra.

At the north side of the valley, and particularly its western corner, there are many ranges and rows of excavations. Though many of them are large and capacious, they are generally entirely without ornament. In some of them are recesses, and pits, and grooves, evidently intended for the reception of the dead. To this congeries, I shall afterwards have occasion to allude. We made several visits to them, though they present no peculiar attraction.

Passing on to the east side of the valley, we have nearly the whole face of the rock appearing like a street of highly ornamented buildings. The first object here worthy of distinct notice is a tomb, with a Latin inscription of three lines, giving the name of Quintus Prætextus Florentinus, and supposed by Laborde to have been of the time of Adrian or Antoninus Pius. Coming along to the south, we find the Fatum, a large façade of three stories, with numerous pilasters, and four large sepulchral apartments with a separate entrance for each, and a recess at the back of one of them, evidently intended for the accommodation of four coffins. Two of those apartments, those in the middle, communicate with one another. Part of the workmanship in front, and particularly in the upper parts, we considered more ancient,

as it is more simple, than that below, which seems more an attempt at an accommodation to it, than its proper architectural base. A considerable part of it, on one of the sides, has been destroyed. Closely connected with this great monument, but with several tombs with sarcophagi intervening, is the Umm-Zikeki, or the "Corinthian tomb" of Laborde. It is a good deal injured in the exterior. Its face is not all on the same plumb line; and we thought that the Romans may have here tried their hands at the improvement of some old Idumean sculpture. It contains one large and two small sepulchral chambers. Contiguous to it is the Umm-Mazaneidak, the "Tomb with an urn" of Laborde. There is a considerable terrace, forming a quadrangular area, and partly supported by large vaults below, in front of this excavation, to which the ascent has been by steps. On this terrace we found a considerable quantity of soil, with a fine sward of grass. There are two rows of five Ionic pillars, forming a sort of portico at its sides. Above the door is a large window, surmounted by three others of larger dimensions. The urn is supported by a pediment above the frieze. Within, there is a large deep chamber, some fifty feet in length, with a square recess at its extremity, giving one the idea that it must have been used as a temple or church.[1]

[1] "The interior," write Irby and Mangles, "was disposed of in one large and lofty chamber, having six recesses, with grooves in them at the further end. On the establishment of Christianity, these six recesses have been converted into three, for the reception of the altars, and the whole apartment has been made to serve as a church; the fastenings for the tapestry and pictures are still visible in all the walls, and near an angle is an inscription in red paint, recording the date of consecration. These were the only vestiges of a Christian establishment that we were enabled to discover throughout the remains of Petra, though it was a metropolitan see."—Travels, p. 431. Speaking of the *Deir*, Mr. Kinnear says,—"Immediately over the altar, a Greek cross has been painted on the wall, and may still be distinctly traced; and it is not improbable that this temple may at one period have been used as a Christian Church."—Cairo, Petra, and Damascus in 1839, p. 153. The seat of the metropolitan see of Petra has long been at Kerak.

From the front of it the view of Petra is extremely imposing.

Proceeding now up to the south, through the Sik, the defile from which the brook of Wádí Músá emerges, and through which passes the road from the east, we have another great series of tombs. They almost all lie to the left hand. The great open amphitheatre on the right, cut out of the solid rock in which it is embosomed, here principally attracts attention. In this work of prodigious, though simple labour, there are thirty-three rows of benches divided into three cunei. The average height of the seats is about twenty inches, a little higher than our ordinary chairs; and their depth is about sixteen. The upper seat of the gallery, we measured by a hundred and forty paces; and in a seat in its middle, we found three hundred and twenty-five feet. We reckoned that the theatre could easily accommodate, at a time, five thousand of the votaries of pleasure, who might make it their resort. The incongruity of its situation, amidst the mansions of mortality, is noticed by every person who inspects it. From its upper seat we counted sixty entrances to tombs, many of which could accommodate several families. Its frequenters, doubtless, were more under the influence of the follies of Roman life, than the solemnities of universal death.

A little in advance of the theatre, the course of the rivulet is from the south-east. At a small expansion in it, another chasm runs down upon it from the south-west. Passing onwards, however, in the straight line, some three or four hundred yards, we arrive at the grandest, finest, and most beautiful work of this seat of wonders, the Khaznah Faráun, or "Treasury of Pharaoh," so denominated by the Arabs from the belief which they have that the urn, by which it is surmounted,—and which they have been unable to reach and sufficiently examine, though they have well pelted it with

ball from their fire-locks, — contains the hoarded treasures of that famous king. No person can view it without admiration, bordering on ecstasy. We were so charmed with its exquisite form and proportions, and roseate tints, that we felt unwilling for some time to approach its portals. We looked at it from all the different points from which it is visible; but from none of them did we receive from it a deeper impression than from that immediately in front of it, where it is seen as a barrier of enchantment in the way of the traveller entering through the dark and narrow defiles which lead to it from the east.

View of the Khasne on emerging from the grand chasm of Petra.

Here, even the calm and cool Burckhardt must have been well-nigh overpowered by it, as it unexpectedly burst upon his view, on the re-discovery of Petra, after it had been hid for many ages from the knowledge of the civilized world. The reader, from the delineation which we are able to make of it, from a drawing of our artist, gets only a glimpse of its shadow. It is, in some respects, the very perfection of Roman art. Its magnitude is lost sight of in the fitness of the proportion of all its parts; but from its base, to the urn by which it is surmounted, its height is one hundred and twenty feet, while in the front it is a hundred and eight feet in breadth. Its Corinthian pillars and pilasters are of the noblest character, and they support a tasteful and splendid entablature and covering for a portico. The pillars were originally four in number; but one of them has fallen, to remind us how much we are indebted to the unity of the material of the whole excavation for its wonderful preservation. The chief ornament in the wall below is that of a man, at each end, holding a charger by the head; but it is considerably defaced by violence. In the upper tier, on a line with the horsemen now referred to, are two lictors with uplifted axes; and intermediate between them are females now indistinctly represented. The central part above is a dome supported by pillars, and surmounted by the urn. The interior of this structure is as plain as its exterior is ornamented. On each side of the vestibule there is a recess plainly sepulchral. Ascending from the vestibule by five steps, we come upon a chamber of ten or eleven paces square. In front of it there is another recess for the dead, and at each of its sides there is room for accommodating a single sarcophagus. All these places are perfectly plain; but if the tombs were combined with a temple, as is frequently the case with Hindús and Muhammadans, they might have been adorned by stucco work. The absence of light, except from the door or from tapers within, is no ar-

gument against the use of this and similar places as temples devoted to the dark and bewildering rites of idolatry. The dim and fainting taper is sufficient for its unhallowed orgies. However magical may be the effect of the exterior of the whole work as one of art, the moralist who inquires for its use, cannot but hear the echo from its dismal chambers—VANITY OF VANITIES, ALL IS VANITY. Transitory and worthless is earthly fame, when even the very names are unknown of the "kings and counsellors of the earth which constructed (these) desolate places for themselves." "They are destroyed from morning to evening: they perish for ever without any regarding it. Doth not their excellency in them go away? they die even without wisdom."[1]

The grand chasm or eastern entrance of Petra strikes off from the Khaznah nearly at right angles to the east; but its course onward is crooked and winding. It has formerly enjoyed the benefit of a regular causeway. The waters of the brook here and there now spread themselves over it; but there are fragments yet to be seen of a semicircular aqueduct, about a foot in diameter, by which they were formerly conducted. The way is often nearly choked up by oleander, wild fig, and other bushes, by which the whole course of the rivulet is lined throughout. The rocks are quite precipitous on each side, and they are so rough and rugged, and near to one another—the distance being commonly only twelve or fourteen feet—that they seem ready to collapse and crush the traveller to nothingness, or imbed him in their bosom, like some of the unfortunate mammals, which our geologists dig from the compact sarcophagi in the bowels of the earth. Their height has been variously estimated; but I think that it is seldom more than three hundred or four hundred feet; and it diminishes as you proceed outwards. They are naturally of a roseate

[1] Job iii. 14; iv. 20, 21.

hue; but from the limited supply of light from above, they are sombre and gloomy in their appearance, even when the sun is in the meridian. At night the rugged path is not a little formidable, as we once found when passing through it a couple of hours after sunset. Some similar defile, associated with the superadded terrors of the beasts of prey, ready to devour the feeble members of the flock, may have been before the shepherd king of Israel, when, in the strains of lyrical inspiration, he sang,—

> "Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
> I will fear no evil: for thou art with me,
> Thy mace and thy staff they comfort me."[1]

Before the termination of this ravine to the east—its course altogether being upwards of a mile—it is bespanned by a Roman arch about eighty feet high, which was found by one of our friends from England—of the party whom we had met at Suez, and who arrived at Petra while we were there—who got to the top of it, to have been connected with an aqueduct. There are many tombs on each face of the rock; but there is nothing very remarkable about them till you get near the opening without. In going along, we noticed a carving in the rock at one or two places, extremely like one of the sacred mounds of the Buddhists which we see in India. In one instance, it had an illegible Greek inscription below; but this we considered, from its position and appearance, to be apocryphal. The representation may have been associated with the ancient idolatry of the Idumeans. In

[1] Psalm xxiii. 4. Incidentally quoting this verse of the Psalmist, I may observe that the word שֵׁבֶט translated *rod* in our version, is probably the club, with an iron-studded head, of the eastern shepherd, which he uses for the defence of his flock against the attacks of wolves and other ravenous animals. I have known a shepherd in India encounter with it a tiger, which he found mangling one of his goats. It is much in use among the Felláhín of Wádí Músá, and the Arabs in general.

connexion with it, we hunted through Josephus to see if we could find any notices to which it could apply by way of illustration. But he gives no particular account of the forms of worship of their god Kose.[1] It is a singular fact, that in the multitude of excavations of all kinds at Petra, not a single image, so far as I am aware, has been observed, which is referable to any known system of mythology.[2]

Emerging from the ravine, we have at the left hand an immense clumsy square pillar, called the Ṭábún, containing a deep sepulchre, and near it another rude monument called the Maghalún. Returning to the road, we see several cultivated fields to the right, running along the back of the sandstone rocks, which here cease in that direction. Going forward a little, we see some coarse tombs surmounted by pyramids; and with façades approaching the forms of art, but of simple construction. Here the village of Eljí, in which the Felláḥín reside, comes in sight. Their huts, or hovels, afford but little accommodation; and they are not kept in the best order. Most of them are erected upon a mound, which may have been the site of some ancient town. Their inmates did not press us to visit them; and we did not think it proper to intrude upon their privacy. Indeed, when we had reached this part of the locality, we formed a determination somewhat more ambitious than that of making the domestic acquaintance of these jealous people. We resolved to attempt to get to the summits of that part of

[1] Κοζέ. Antiq. xv. 7, 9.

[2] Irby and Mangles seem to have noticed the figure to which I have referred, and the others of a similar character. "There is an object frequently repeated in sculpture along the road side," they say, "which we were at a loss to explain. An altar is represented in a niche, upon which set a mass of a lumpish form, sometimes square, and sometimes curved in its outline, or rising in other instances to a sharper or obtuser cone; in one instance three of them are coupled together in one niche. It might possibly be a representation of the god Terminus, or perhaps one of the stones which were objects of worship among the Arabs down to the time of Muhammad."—Travels, p. 461.

the lofty range of Seir, which rises to the right of their abodes.

Passing through some fields in which the barley was just cutting the sod, we began the ascent. We went from terrace to terrace, and from one ledge of rock to another, but still we seemed far distant from the goal of our journey. Altogether, however, we did not find the mountain so steep or bare as it appeared from below. We found it to consist of the lower and upper chalk, with innumerable petrified shells, urchins, and corals, imbedded in some places in its strata. We did not sufficiently crown the summits to see much of the country to the eastward, though we cast a glance on the districts contiguous to Màán. This town from which it is supposed the MAONITES of Scripture received their denomination, might be five or six miles distant from us.[1] The plateau of

[1] To Burckhardt we are indebted for some interesting notices of this town. "At Maan," he says, "are several springs, to which the town owes its origin, and these, together with the circumstance of its being a station of the Syrian Hadj, are the cause of its still existing. The inhabitants have scarcely any other means of subsistence than the profits which they gain from the pilgrims in their way to and from Mekha, by buying up all kinds of provisions at Hebron and Gaza, and selling them with great profit to the weary pilgrims; to whom the gardens and vineyards of Maan are no less agreeable than the wild herbs collected by the people of Maan are to their camels. The pomegranates, apricots, and peaches of Maan are of the finest quality. In years when a very numerous caravan passes, pomegranates are sold at one piastre each, and every thing in the same proportion. During the two days' stay of the pilgrims, in going, and as many in returning, the people of Maan earn as much as keeps them the whole year. Maan is situated in the midst of a rocky country, not capable of cultivation; the inhabitants, therefore, depend upon their neighbours of Djebal and Shera for their provision of wheat and barley. At present, owing to the discontinuance of the Syrian Hadj, they are scarcely able to obtain money to purchase it. Many of them have commenced pedlars among the Bedouins, and fabricators of different articles for their use, especially sheep-skin furs, while others have emigrated to Tafyle and Kerek. . . . The inhabitants considering their town as an advanced post to the sacred city of Medina, apply themselves with great eagerness to the study of the Koran. . . . The two hills upon which the town is built divide the inhabitants into two parties, almost incessantly engaged in quar-

Seir is of no great extent, and it presents merely a succession of ridges, getting lower and lower to the east. From the highest point which we reached, Mount Hor bore W. ½ N. The sun going down behind it warned us to return more speedily to Petra than we had intended, which we much regretted, as we were not aware that any European, in modern times, has ascended Mount Seir in the direction in which we were. We had a favourable opportunity, in our descent, of looking down upon the sandstone bed in which the city lies. The valley within appeared as a great quadrangular excavation, surrounded by turreted and castellated walls. Much of the sandstone rock lying between it and the shoulder of Seir, on which it rests, presented many insular masses in the form of domes, with many furrows around them formed by the wear of the rock by the rains of winter. Much of the roof of the rock, especially to the east, seemed bepowdered by the chalk dust blown and washed upon it from the higher mountains. Long before we got to the mouth of the great ravine on our return to our tents, the day-light had completely failed us. Mr. Smith and I, who had dismissed our guide, thought it prudent to observe solemn silence, as we groped our way through the long defile. The moon, we found, was wholly unavailing to us in its intricate abyss; and we made many a false step as we moved along. At every bush, or block, or projection that came in our way, we dilated our eyeballs like the nocturnal members of the feline race. Our object was to be in readiness to eschew danger, and not to make a prey either of beast or bird. I do not know that either of us for the urn of the "Treasury of Pharaoh," which we passed, filled with coppers, would repeat again this small adventure.

Referring in general to the excavations which we have

rels, which are often sanguinary; no individual of one party ever marries into a family belonging to the other."—Burckhardt's Travels, pp. 436, 437. The Maonites of this place are mentioned in Judg. x. 12; 1 Chron. iv. 41; (Keri,) 2 Chron. xxvi. 26, 27.

now noticed, I may be excused for hinting at a comparison of them with the works of a similar character which I have frequently visited in the west of India. As efforts of architectural skill, those of Petra undoubtedly excel those of the Hindús, which they also exceed in point of general extent, if we except the wonderful works at Verula or Ellora. In individual magnitude they fall far short of many of the cave temples, collegiate halls, and monastic cells of the farther east. Their interest, too, is wholly exterior; while that of those of India, with the exception of the great Brahmanical temple of Kailás, and the porticos of the Buddhist Vihárs of Saṣhtí and Karlí, is principally in the multitudinous decorations and fixtures, and gigantic mythological figures of the interior. The sculptures and excavations of Petra have been principally made by individuals, in their private capacity, for private purposes, and the comparatively limited amount of workmanship about them has permitted this to be the case; while most of those of India, intended for public purposes, and requiring an enormous expenditure of labour and wealth, have mostly been begun and finished by sovereign princes and religious communities. At Petra, we have principally the beauty of art applied often legitimately to subdue the terrors of nature in perhaps the most singular locality on the face of the globe, and the cunning of life stamping its own similitude on the mouth of the grave, to conceal its loathsomeness; but in India we have debasing superstition, enshrining itself in gloom and darkness, and mystery, in order to overawe its votaries, and to secure their reverence and prostration. The moralist, on looking into the empty vaults and tombs of Idumea, and seeing that the very names of "the kings and counsellors of the earth which constructed these desolate places for themselves,"[1] are forgotten, exclaims, in the language which we have already

[1] Job iii. 14.

quoted, "They are destroyed from morning to evening; they perish for ever without any regarding it. Doth not their excellency in them go away? they die even without wisdom."[1] In entering into the dreary and decaying temples and shrines of India, he thinks of that day when "a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats; to go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth."[2]

Besides the excursion to the top of Mount Seir, which I have already mentioned, we made a second, which we thought might have been still more interesting, as directed to a locality almost wholly unknown. Scrambling up the rocks at the north end of the valley of Petra, my fellow-traveller and myself, with a single Felláh as our attendant, began to ascend, in a north-east direction, what Laborde in his plan calls "the great chain of mountains that separates the town from the desert." After three hours' most laborious exertion, suspended however for intervals, that we might have a breathing when our efforts exhausted our strength, we got to the highest point of the whole range, where we found the background very much of the same character as that which we had seen from the summit which we had formerly reached. As we were proceeding still farther in the direction in which we had come—to the neighbourhood, I should think, of "Dibdebar," seen by Irby and Mangles at some distance from one of their encampments, and spoken of by them as a "little village," "with a grove of fig-trees about it"[3]—our Idumean friend began to advise us to think of returning, as the territory through which we were going

[1] Job iv. 20, 21.

[2] Isaiah ii. 20, 21.

[3] Irby and Mangles, p. 386. Is this the Badabdah of Burckhardt? Travels in Syria, p. 420.

was all Ḥaram, Ḥaram, "sacred or forbidden." We attributed his indisposition to the march to laziness; and we determined to follow our own counsels. By and bye, the demands of our thirst led us to make a halt. "I shall give you immediately," said Mr. Smith, when I was complaining of my sufferings, "a capital cup of porter, sugar, and Adam's wine." When he was mixing the potation, I got my eyes upon an encampment of Arabs, of about sixty tents, pitched in the form of a square on the plateau of a ridge distant from us about a furlong; and I began to survey it with a ship's telescope I had brought from below. Suddenly, we heard a noise among the women, and children, and dogs in the square; and anon I observed the men come out in considerable numbers. After eyeing us for a minute or two, they began to seize their arms and load their guns. "I do not like the look of things over there," was the simple announcement I made to my friend. "Hoot, man, let *me* see them," was his response, as he took the looking-glass out of my hands, and applied it in the direction of my apprehensions. "They are at us like bees; let us fly," was his prompt judgment of their doings, and of our duty. My acquiescence as quickly followed; and seeing them apparently determined to do us mischief, and that without giving us any opportunity of disarming their opposition, we began to run and roll down the mountain as best we could. In the trepidation and difficulties of the descent, we got separated from one another, and, with the apprehension of our enemies gaining ground upon us, we had some little anxiety about our possible fate. At the base of the hill, however, we happily met one another rounding a mass of rock; and, looking upwards, we found that the Arabs were searching for us among the boulders above. In a short time, they disappeared from our view; and we betook ourselves, as speedily as possible, to the city of the rock. When we got within its

powerful ramparts, we were both weary and worn; and we sat down to rest, not ungrateful, I trust, for the preserving care which had been exercised over us. On reflecting on what had occurred, we came to the conclusion that our pursuers probably imagined that our telescope was some fearful machine pointed against them for their injury or destruction. Had we had an opportunity of making any explanation to them, there might have been no occasion for our flight, even though the universal experience of those who have visited Edom might warrant us to speak of it as still the "border of wickedness,"[1] and to say that "none shall pass through it,"[2] without the experience of some danger or difficulty. Our guide informed us, that the people who had come out against us belonged to what he called the Beit-Shár, and were the confederates of the Felláḥín of Wádí Músá. Their head man, he said, was Sheikh Áubed, the same individual, if I mistake not, whom Mr. Kinnear and his party met at Akabah. Had they followed us to Petra, we might have been able to make somewhat of a formidable demonstration against them, as another party of English travellers, our valiant and vigorous friends, Messrs. Grey, Buckworth, Caulfield, and Jones, had arrived in the valley, with a competent escort, which they had obtained at Hebron.

As we found the Felláḥín with whom we had to do at Petra perfectly faithful to their engagements, we availed ourselves of their services in making all practicable inquiries into the natural history of the place, and the adjoining mountains and valleys. They made a pretty large collection of plants under our guidance, the Arabic names of which I wrote down according to their pronunciation. Had our visit been later in the season, we should doubtless have procured a

[1] Mal. i. 4. [2] Isaiah xxxiv. 10.

greater number of specimens illustrative of the vegetation of these parts. Most of those which we did acquire, I am sorry to say, met with an untoward fate after they were taken to Britain, having been mistaken for packing material and burned, or otherwise destroyed. I give, in my second volume, a list of their Arabic names, which may be of some use to botanical travellers direct from Europe, whose ears are but little accustomed to catch the peculiar sounds of the oriental languages, though it will be seen that at the time I had prepared it, I had identified comparatively few of the species which it denominates. I also there give a list of the birds and beasts with which the Felláḥín are acquainted, and some of which we saw and examined, and a representation of some of the "creeping things" which are found in the ruins of Petra. The latter are so numerous, that the place, like all others, I suppose, of a similar character in the country, may be characteristically spoken of as נְוֵה תַּנִּים "an habitation of dragons."[1] The Felláḥín, in the space of a few minutes, caught for us some scores of lizards, chameleons, centipedes, and scorpions. The language of prophecy by which the desolations of Edom are described, seemed to us, when read on the spot, to be strikingly appropriate to the appearance of the country and its present occupants of every description, and eminently fitted, when reference is made to the time when it was first used, both to startle and convince the unbeliever. This remark applies both to what is obviously figurative, and what is strictly literal. It is not difficult often to see where the line of distinction between the one style of representation and the other appears, especially when there is no disposition to put an unnatural meaning on the language which God, in deference to the apprehension of the human faculties, has graciously condescended to use

[1] Isaiah xxxiv. 13.

in the revelation of his will. Dr. Keith deserves the greatest credit for being the first to direct the attention of the public to the whole question of the fulfilment of the prophecies referring to these and several other regions of the lands of the Bible overlooked by former writers. He has lately had the advantage of a personal inspection of this locality, and the results of his observation and research will doubtless be forthcoming in a new edition of his highly popular work.

The most interesting of our conferences with the Felláḥín of Wádí Músá were those which referred to their own position in the human family. Having been struck with the peculiarity of their countenance and dress, we asked the sheikh and some of his dependents whom we had invited to our tents, if they considered themselves a distinct Arabian tribe, or a portion of any known Arabian community. Their reply was startling:—"Lá, naḥnu aulád Beni-Isráyen."[1] "*No; we are the offspring of the Bene-Israel,*"—and gave occasion to the following conversation, which Mr. Smith and I recorded at the time in their presence:—

*Travellers.*—"Who excavated the tombs and dwellings of Wádí Músá?"

*Felláḥín.*—"The Bene-Israel, the Turkmans, and the Naṣráni,"—Christians, but applied to foreigners in general, such as the Greeks and Romans.

*T.*—"Where are the tombs of the Bene-Israel?"

*F.*—"The district (balad) of the Bene-Israel is in the corner yonder," pointing to the series of tombs remarkable for their plainness at the north-west corner of the valley.[2]

*T.*—"Where are the Turkman tombs?"

*F.*—"They are near them."

*T.*—"Where are the tombs of the Naṣráni?"

[1] In proper names especially, the ن *nun*, is often substituted for the ل *lam*.

[2] See above, p. 315.

*F.*—"These are they," pointing to the large excavations around us.

*T.*—"Do you ever find anything in the tombs?"

*F.*—"Yes; we have found plenty of skulls and bones, but the coffins are almost all empty." In connexion with this remark, one of the Felláḥín got up to the top of the rocks and brought from a tomb an ancient urn of plain earthenware, for which we gave him a few piastres.

*T.*—"Were all the excavations intended for the accommodation of the dead?"

*F.*—"No; they were intended for the living also."

*T.*—"Who were the first inhabitants of Wádí Músá? Tell us all you know about their history."

*F.*—"This country was first in the possession of the *Jahilí* Ḳaum el-Ábd,[1] of the 'Ignorance of the people of the slave.' After them came the Bene-Israel under Músá. After that the Bene-Israel became Muhammadans. The Felláḥín battled with the Wáhabís, when the Sheikh's beard was first beginning to vegetate, when 170 Wáhabís and 20 Felláḥín were killed. None of us can read, and we have no records."

*T.*—"How numerous is your body?"

*F.*—"There are 500 of us able to bear arms under Sheikh Suleimán, and 500 under Sheikh Áubed."

*T.*—"Do you intermarry with the Arabs?"

*F.* "No; we intermarry with the Bene-Israel of the Beit-Shár."

*T.*—"Where do these people reside?"

*F.*—"They live in Jebel Atlabeḳ and Jebel es-Ṣafáh. Their Wádí is named el-Ḥamd. They come to us in the hot weather."

*T.*—"What are the names of men current among you? Mention them, omitting all your titles."

[1] This is the usual description by the Musalmáns of the time preceding Islám.

*F.*—"Aesu, (Esau,) Aubed, (Obed,) Husein, Risalán, Salím, Aid, Alí, 'Umar, Músá, (Moses,) Shahín, Suleimán, (Solomon,) Ḥamad, Dáwúd, (David,) Yúsif, (Joseph,) Maḥmud, Amar, Abd el-Ḳáder, Ḳásim, Manṣur, Salámah, Ibráhím, (Abraham,) Naṣr-Allah, Isḥaḳ, (Isaac,) Yaḳub, (Jacob,) Ṣalih, Náúm."[1]

*T.*—"Now, mention the names of some of your women."

*F.*—"Maryam, Fáṭimah, Salmah, Ḥamdah, Naṣrah, Reyyá, (Leah?) Hájar, (Hagar,) Tamúm, Khaukhá, Wardah, Nijúm, Salímah, Aídah, Rafíyah, Maridhah, Aidhah, Kanurá, Waṭfih, Ṣafír, Maridhahá, Satr, Ḥalímá, Ayeshah, Matshabah, Rifḳá, (Rebecca,) Jaflá, Ḥarbá, Laṭífah."[2]

With this interrogation, they expressed a wish to bring the conversation to a close, begging us, at the same time, to inform all English travellers to make payments on account of Wádí Músá, directly to themselves and not to the camel sheikhs. Simple as was the information which we received from them, it is not without the highest interest. As they consider themselves distinct from the Arabs, and have no intermarriage with them, it is extremely probable that they are the descendants of some of the older races, commingled

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| عيسو | عوبد | حسين | رسلان | سليم | عيد . علي |
| عمر | موسى | شاهين | سليمان | حمد | داوود . يوسف |
| محمود | عمر | عبدالقادر | قاسم | منصور | سلامه . ابراهيم |
| نصرالله | اسحق | يعقوب | صالح | نعوم | |
| مريم | فاطمه | سلمه | حمده | نصره | ريا . هاجر |
| تموم | خوخا | ورده | نجوم | سليمه | عيده . رفيعه |
| مريضه | عيضه | كنورا | وطفه | صفير | مريضها . ستر |
| حليما | عيشه | متشمه | رفقا | جفلا | حربا . لطيفه |

with one another it may be, who anciently inhabited Idumea. Though in their features and personal appearance, and even dress, as in the ringlet of hair above the ear which some of them wear, they certainly resemble the Jews who are settled in the east, particularly those of Yemen and Bombay; and though they denominate themselves Bene-Israel, they may not belong to the family of Jacob, but of Esau, which, as we learn from Josephus, embraced the Jewish faith. It is worthy of notice that the first name of a man which they mentioned to us as current among them was that of Esau; and that Matshabah, one of their female names, seems, by a bold anagram not unusual in the formation of Arabic words from the Hebrew, to resemble Bashemath, the wife of Esau.[1] Aidah, too, one of the female names, is like that of Adah, another of Esau's wives. Most of the names, including even those which are found in the Old Testament, are common to the Felláḥín of Wádí Músá and the Arabs. The number of Old Testament names in proportion to others, however, is greater than I have found in any list so limited as that which we obtained from these people. It is curious to see that between "the Times of Ignorance," of which all the Arabs speak, and the prevalence of Islám, they interpose the advent to the country of the Bene-Israel; and that they point to the simple excavations of the north-west of Petra, as particularly the work of the Bene-Israel,—or, as I have supposed, the Edomites,—properly distinguishing them from the more artistic excavations which they ascribe to the Naṣrání or Nazarenes, or indefinitely, "foreigners." We were much gratified by learning the facts which I have now stated. They increase the regret which we feel that travellers hitherto have made little or no inquiry into the circumstances of this curious people. This, doubtless, has been owing, to a great extent, to the fact that

[1] Gen. xxxvi. 10.

travellers in general have not sought to conciliate them, or secure their friendship.[1]

For a few general notes on the history of Idumea and its present state, particularly as connected with the subject of prophecy, I refer the reader to my second volume.

Having satisfied ourselves with our repeated survey of Petra, we made ready, on the morning of Monday, the 13th of March, for taking leave of the place, in order to make another encampment in the borders of Edom. Sheikh Suleimán, the head of the Felláḥín, took care to be in early attendance on his guests. Each of us gave him a hundred piastres for our protection, according to the agreement which we had made at the beginning, adding twenty piastres for the services which we had personally received at his hands. We settled also all the claims of his people for the supplies which we had received at their hands. Both parties were highly satisfied with one another; and the sheikh asked us to give him a certificate to this effect, which we had pleasure in doing, as we were desirous to cultivate the regard which he showed to the forms and feelings of civilized life. At his request, too, we gave him a small paper-book, in which travellers might insert their names, and record, if they choose, their experience, and with a heading stating the terms at which he holds himself prepared to extend protection to his visitors. What use he and his people may make of the document, I do not know. Some of my friends who have visited Petra since we left it, found the sheikh perfectly faithful to the intimations which we made at his request; but others again have mentioned that they have got again embroiled, principally through their camel sheikhs, in the old quarrels which rendered a visit to Wádí Músá so

[1] Burckhardt's notice of the Felláhín of Wádí Músá is very brief. "Upon a hill over the Ain Mousa, the Arabs Lyathene (الياثنة) were encamped, who cultivate the valley of Mousa."—P. 420.

uncomfortable, and have been obliged to limit their stay at the place to a couple of days.

We got in motion at half-past nine o'clock, and proceeding to the south-west, reached the summit of the Naḳb, on the shoulder of Mount Hor, exactly at noon. Our path was very rugged, though here and there it presents fragments of an ancient road cut in the rock. It was that which we had followed during the evening in which we had entered Petra, and we had an opportunity, as we passed along, of looking into the excavations which we could not then examine in the dark. Though numerous, they present nothing very remarkable, except perhaps two tombs with the rock hewn out in the form of a truncated pyramid or rather pillar, which are represented by Laborde.[1]

Keeping Mount Hor to the right, and going along the plateau called Wádí Hárún, we began to descend from the Naḳb by a winding path running pretty much in the direction of north-west, where, overlooking the Wádí 'Arabah, which we saw in the distance, we had again an extensive view of the great desert. The descent, after we left Wádí Hárún, got the name of Wádí Arbàín. At a quarter-past three o'clock we got into Wádí el-Milḥ, or the "Valley of Salt," down which we proceeded till we came near the mouth of Wádí Nimálá, the "Valley of Ants," in a recess from the Wádí 'Arabah, where we encamped for the night. Wádí el-Milḥ, if its name was stated to us correctly, seems to correspond with the Wádí Abyadh, or the White Valley of Robinson's map; and it may certainly bear this name from the appearance which it presents. The red sandstone does not come so low here as in the path by which we ascended to Petra. What of the sandstone we had till we got into Wádí el-Milḥ, was in many places much silicified and dis-

[1] They are not given in the English edition of his work.

coloured by the heat arising from the porphyry and granite which cut it and the chalk rocks which, at different places, rest upon it. Great quantities of a kind of alluvial conglomerate, formed from the chalk rocks, and brought down from above by the rains, curiously overlie the red sandstone at many places.

To-day we fell in with four Tiyáhah Badawín, driving and leading forty camels, old and young, which they said they had purchased in Wádí Swedí, east of Mount Seir, where they told us many camels are reared for sale. They were on the way to Ghazzah or GAZA, where they expected to dispose of their purchase. They expressed a wish to enjoy our company during a part of our desert route; and we readily gave our consent. Though they belonged to the same general division of the Arabs as our conductors, and seemed to be personally acquainted with them, they were of a different tribe.

Tawarah Sheikh.

Fellah of Wadi Musa.

## CHAPTER XI.

### FROM THE 'ARABAH TO DHAHARIYAH IN THE SOUTH OF JUDAH.

Tuesday, 14th March.—Emerging from what may be called the roots of Mount Seir, and turning our backs on the land of Edom, we began this morning to cut through the Wádí 'Arabah in a north-west direction, requesting our Arabs to make for the 'Ain el-Weibah, a fountain in the desert on its borders. We occupied seven hours in crossing the 'Arabah; and we found that, as farther to the south, it has here entirely the character of the desert, though the acacias and camel-bushes are perhaps more abundant than in the great plateau to the west. The minor Wádís, or furrows of the great Wádí, were called Wádí Ḥamáṭ, Umm-Ḳanátir, Dabbat el-Baghalat, and Wádí Jeib.

Towards the Ain el-Weibah the ground rises a little; and the position of the place may be accurately spoken of as on the banks of the 'Arabah. We stopped at the wells till we watered our camels, which did not scruple to drink of the water, though having been lately disturbed by some of the herds or droves which resort to it; it appeared, at the principal source, mere mire and mud. The taste is disagreeable, and decidedly brackish. A good deal of gas, disagreeable to the smell, was rising from its surface; but this was probably owing to the accumulations of filth at its margin. There are several springs or quagmires at the place, with very luxuriant vegetation of reeds, rushes, and grasses around them. One of them rises at a sort of stony basin; but it does not proceed from a rock distinctly so called, as we had been led to expect. We heard of no ruins in the neighbourhood. The locality is one which ought to be considered very interesting by the Biblical student, who may be able to acquiesce in the theory of Dr. Robinson, identifying it with KADESH-BARNEA, where the Israelites encamped when they sent out the spies to examine the promised land, and from which they sent to demand a passage through Edom, and which is particularly mentioned in Scripture in connexion with the southern boundary of the land of promise. In the theory to which I now refer, however, we were not able to acquiesce, after we had examined all the passages of holy writ in which Kadesh is mentioned, and compared them with the position of el-Weibah and the features of the adjoining country, and with information which we had received at Cairo from the Rev. Mr. Rowlands respecting certain geographical discoveries which he had made in the neighbourhood of Jebel Helál. Some of the grounds of the judgment which we formed on these matters, I shall onwards have an opportunity of stating.

Shortly after leaving the wells of el-Weibah, we entered into the large Wádí el-Mirzabah, which we found running

almost due north. We encamped in it for the night after about a couple of hours' travel. The rocks on both sides of us belonged to the cretaceous system, and they were full of marine remains. The strata were much disturbed, and dipping at all angles, and to all points of the compass. The upper one seemed the hardest, and to be, to a good extent, of argillaceous matter, giving it much the appearance of lithographic limestone. It was much broken and curiously disposed of on the slopes of chalk.

We observed the party of Arabs, who had joined us on our leaving Petra, and had crossed the Arabah with us in the course of the day, studiously keeping at a distance from us at night. The occasion of their shyness was a quarrel which they had had with Sheikh Husein, one of our conductors, and which originated in a conversation on the respective merits of the camels of the party, and on a subject which we had understood the Badawín are averse to speak about, the suitableness and serviceableness of the female members of their community. Sheikh Husein was in fault for introducing this last delicate topic, and for the injudicious manner in which he brought it to the notice of the strangers. "Your wives and daughters," he tauntingly said, "are such tender and fastidious objects, that they can neither drive a sheep to the waste, nor recall a wandering camel. They can neither bake, nor boil, nor grind, nor bring water. Instead of serving you, you have to serve them and assist them. They are the sheikhs, and you are the slaves." This impudence met with a corresponding response. "Get down from your camels, and we shall show you that you lie. Our wives are women; but not so are yours, who are so dirty and smell so rank, that a man cannot sit with them in the same tent." Worse than this followed, and had not we peremptorily interfered, the consequences might have been lamentable, as both parties became absolutely frantic with rage.

Wednesday, 15th March.—Our progress to-day, leading to the N.N.W., was wholly among the desolate hills which form the south-east boundary of Judah, and which, generally speaking, run—as far as we observed, from the course of the cross Wádís and the range of the ridges over which we passed—from west to east. We started at a quarter past seven in the morning, and began the ascent of the Naḳb el-Mirzabah. It is long and tedious, winding among abrupted rocks and steep chalk hills, with a bare, broken, and slippery path, affording very bad footing both to man and beast. At a quarter to ten we reached the summit, and there, keeping the deathlike wildness of the scene before us, we sat down to breakfast. The descent on the western side of the Naḳb is not so difficult as that to the east. On clearing it, still keeping among the hills, we crossed two Wádís, Shebíyah and el-Marrah, which are not mentioned in any of our maps. They run in the general direction of the hills. We halted for the night in Wádí Fiḳrah, the "Valley of Thoughtfulness," which is both large and deep, at a quarter past five, about an hour sooner than usual, our camels having been nearly completely knocked up by the badness of the way. Jebel Mádarah, an isolated hill, under which, according to the Badawín, as noticed by Lord Lindsay, "God crushed a village for its vices," lay close upon us to the left hand.[1] The range of Mount Seir to the east of the Arabah, was in sight of us to the right whenever we were on the higher grounds during the day. Its northern districts are denominated Jebál, or the "Mountains." To the eye, however, they do not appear so lofty as those of esh-Shírah, further to the south. To-day, we must have been a little to the west of Dr. Robinson's route from Petra, as our observations have

[1] Count Bertou says, that his Arabs gave this hill also the name of "Kadessa," which he associates with the KADESH of Scripture.—Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1839, p. 322.

not accorded with his descriptions. His path was evidently much more devious than that which we pursued, and some of the Wádís mentioned by him which did not occur to us, must, I think, not run according to the indications of his map. There is so much confusion among the hills here, however, that nothing but the most minute survey of them could give any thing like accuracy to any delineation which could be attempted of them.[1]

Thursday, 16th March.—Our course this day was pretty much in the direction of N.W. by W. After leaving the Wádí Fikrah, we got among a range of hills, by the wild and desolate Wádí er-Rákib, or Yemen, I think, of our maps,[2] and escaped, to some extent, the difficulties of the pass of es-Ṣafáh to the right. In the name of Ṣafáh, Dr. Robinson thinks that he recognises the ZEPHATH of Scripture, which, in Judges i. 17, is said to be identical with Hormah. The Doctor found no ruins in this neighbourhood except those of a small fort, "obviously designed to guard the pass;" and that any town—and one, too, with a distinct chief, such as

[1] Lord Lindsay, referring to these parts, with his usual felicity of expression, correctly says, "We entered the low barren ridges that skirt Wady Araba on the west, and for several hours during this and the following day, traversed a country of the most utter desolation, hills succeeding hills without the slightest picturesque beauty, covered with loose flints, sand, and gravel, sterility in its most repulsive garb,—it made the very heart ache and the spirits sink." "Such is Edom now," he goes on to state, "'most desolate,' as prophecy foretold it should be, at a time when literature and commerce, arts and sciences, were still flourishing in the land of Job, and the palm trees of Idumea were as proverbial in men's mouths as those of Palestine, now, I believe not one survives—at least, I saw none."—Letters on the Holy Land, vol. ii. p. 45. As this is a passage, considering its pious and enlightened source, very likely to be quoted by writers on the fulfilment of prophecy, who have not themselves visited these parts, I think it right to mention, that the desolation so graphically described, is merely that of the great and terrible wilderness, and as old as the present geological era of the world.

[2] Though I give this according to my original notes, it strikes me that I may have misunderstood the Arabs, as giving the name of Rákib to the Wádí instead of Arkúb, which means simply a "defile."

we are told in Scripture was at Hormah[1]—should ever have existed in this wild locality, is exceedingly improbable. Mr. Rowlands, to whom I have already referred in connexion with the supposed site of Kadesh, says,—"Our road from Khalusa [the ancient Elusa, and not improbably the CHESIL of Scripture] was nearly in a direct line all the way to Suez, passing near the south-east extremity of Mount Halal. Two hours and a half from Khalusa is an ancient site, called Sepâta—only a few traces of a city, pottery, &c. This, I thought, must be Hormah, or ancient Zephath, the Arabic form of which name would be precisely Sepât or Sepâta."[2] Though the Arabic language has no *pe*, and there must be some mistake here in the name quoted, the site discovered by Mr. Rowlands may turn out to be that of Zephath.

Emerging from the hills which our Arabs denominated Jebel Ghárîb, we had a broad plain, like a down, called Wádí et-Tereibah, stretching before us to the right. Jebel Ghárîb appeared to run N.N.W., and to be the southern boundary of Judah in this direction, as far as either pasture or the possibility of the smallest culture are concerned. Not a particle of vegetation was visible on its chalky cliffs, which appeared like a natural rampart to the land. In the sandy valley to the north of it, there is a tolerable pasturage, principally intermingled with spikes of grass of herbaceous plants fit for camels and sheep.

At a break in the range of Ghárîb, we turned into Wádí Kurnub. Upon an elevation to the left hand, we found the ruins which are noticed by Lord Lindsay. The remains of two buildings only have anything like distinctness; but altogether the site of an ancient town can be recognised. In a tomb into which we looked, we observed recent human bones. The place has evidently at one time been surrounded by a wall. Lord Lindsay thinks, that here the town of Elusa

[1] Josh. xii. 14. [2] Williams' Holy City, p. 488.

stood; but it has been satisfactorily identified in the present Khalaṣah, which lies about twenty-five miles further to the west. Dr. Robinson, who took a peep at Kurnub, through his telescope, in passing, thinks that it "seems most probably to have been the Thamara of Ptolemy and other writers, as well as the THAMAR of the Old Testament."[1] "Thamara" he adds, "seems to have been the Thamar of the prophet Ezekiel, from which the southern border of the land was to be measured, on one side to Kadesh, and on the other to the western sea."[2] If a line be drawn on the map in the manner here hinted at—assuming the el-Weibah, according to Dr. Robinson's theory to be Kadesh—it will be seen that it presents a southern border, suitable neither to the physical features of the country, nor to the points of the compass. If Kurnub was really Thamar—and the indications of Eusebius and Jerome lead us to conclude that it could not be far distant from it, if it was not identical with it—there is nothing more natural than to suppose that Kadesh must have lain to the west or south-west of Thamar, and not to the south-east as Dr. Robinson places it, and have fallen on a line, drawn through Thamar from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean.[3]

[1] Biblical Researches, p. 616. Of Thamar, Reland takes the following notice:—"Θαμαρά. Vicus disjunctus unius diei spatio a Chebrone pergentibus Ailam, ubi presidium Romanum est. Eusebius ad Ἀσασὰν Θαμάν. Legitur illic, κώμη διεστῶσα μάλις ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπιόντων ἀπο Χεβρῶν εἰς Αἰλάμ. Illud μαλις mendosum est. Quid si legatur μόνης ἡμέρας ὁδὸν; *unius diei itinere?* Ita certe vertit Hieronymus, et Eusebius simili phrasi usus est ad vocem Καρκὰ, ἀπέχον Πέτρας μόνην ἡμέραν. Sed quum Hieronymus ea verba Latine reddens habeat *unius diei itinere a Memphis oppido separatum*, assentio Martianæo, notanti latere hic nomen urbis Μαλάθων. Verum et μόνης hic legi velim, διεστῶσα Μαλάθων μόνης, &c. Θαμαρώ. Inter urbes Judææ recensetur ultimo loco a Ptolemæo. Posset eadem esse hic Thamara. Et in tabula veteri itineraria, quæ Peutingeriana dicitur, *Thamaro* legitur."—Reland. Palestin., p. 1031.

[2] Ezek. xlvii. 10; xlviii. 28.

[3] Mr. Rowlands says, that "Ain Kades," which he discovered, "lies to the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles to the E.S.E. of Moilâhhi."—Williams' Holy City, p. 491.

We encamped for the night in sight of Kurnub, after crossing the small Wádí, "Abou Tarfa" of Count Bertou, and close to the low ridge called Ḳabbet el-Bali or el-Baul. Near our encampment we observed several heaps of stones called the 'Alámát el-Ḥamdí, or the "mosks of Ḥamdí," a hero of the "Bali tribe," according to our Arabs, who, with the assistance of his slave, here fought and defeated the whole of his clansmen, who were seeking to take vengeance on him for a murder which he had committed. Some scratches on the road, which are regularly renewed by the Arabs as they pass, mark the length of his spear. That of Goliath of Gath must have been a mere twig when compared to it, as it measures twenty paces in length. Extravagance seems necessary to give currency to the traditions of the Arabs, as well as to those of other nations. They must exceed the bounds of all experience, in order to gain credit. How unlike the historical details of the Scriptures, which always treat of man as he is in nature, except when supported by the direct interference of God!

Friday, 17th March.—The thick mists and heavy dews of this morning were decided indications to us that we had escaped from the dreadful drought of the desert, and entered on the fertile elevated plains of the south of Judah. The light soil around us, though presenting nothing like the carpet of emerald green, which we see in more northern climes, was both delightful and refreshing to the eye. The grass, which was shooting up in separate stalks, not unlike rye, though comparatively sparse, was intermingled with wild oats and innumerable beautiful aromatic flowers and shrubs, many of which were in their fullest blow. The wild daisy and tulip,[1] and a species of clover,[2] though not the most striking in themselves, recalled to our remembrance the pastoral fields, so long removed from our view, but which we had so often trodden in mirthful glee "when life's bosom was young."

[1] Tulipa Clusiana. [2] Trefolium Stellatum. Schubert.

We felt exhilarated to a degree which no one can imagine, who has not been in circumstances similar to our own. The scene to us, after a pilgrimage of forty days in the great and terrible wilderness, the "shadow of death," was truly as life from the dead. We felt as if the larks which were offering their orisons to the God of nature, were sympathizing with *our* feelings. And then the Scriptural associations of this charming locality! Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob—the plain men dwelling in tents, but the great patriarchs of the people wonderful from the beginning—and David, the sweet singer of Israel, passed before us, with their flocks and herds, in all their pastoral simplicity, and with all their benignant piety. Most interesting was it to us to feast our eyes on the very works of God, which, under the guidance of his Spirit, nursed their pure and elevated devotion. That language, which was the fruit of their own inspiration, we found alone adequate to the expression of our praise. Such lyrics as the hundred and fourth psalm were pregnant with new meaning, and had to us a beauty and freshness such as we had never before perceived or enjoyed.

After a two hours march in the morning, we breakfasted at an old ruin, called the Ḳaṣr es-Sír, or the Kaseir, or fortlet of Dr. Robinson.[1] A town named Zior, (צִיעֹר,) is mentioned in Joshua xv. 54, as existing in the south of Judah; but it is perhaps too much to think of Sír as a corruption of its name, as the letter ע *ain* is seldom if ever dropped in the Arabic representation of Hebrew words,[2] and Zior is associated in the Bible with Hebron farther to the north.[3] In the neighbourhood of these ruins we found many scattered bones, and nearly complete human skeletons, the mortal remains of

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 617.

[2] Yet, we have الشراة, esh-Sherah for שֵׂעִיר Seir. There is perhaps here some casual accommodation.

[3] Sír is perhaps the representation of Zin, the body of the wilderness of which probably lay to the south-east of this part of the country.—Numb. xiii. 21; xx. 1; xxvii. 14.

some of Ibráhím Páshá's troops, which were dreadfully harassed by the Arabs on their retirement from Syria by the route extending from the Ghor, south of the Dead Sea to Ġaza, in the beginning of 1841. It was Ibráhím's boast, that during his government of Syria, for Muḥammad Álí, he was making progress in the subjection of the sons of the desert. "I am the only man," he said to Colonel Rose, the English Consul General, "to manage the Arabs and Bedouins, who never had any master before me. I could and did cut off their heads, which the Turks never will do."[1] The wild men of the wilderness found their day of vengeance, as they told us, gnashing their teeth at the mention of Ibráhím's name, and pointing with exultation to the fractured skulls on their path, as the proofs of their prowess and successful hate. Wherever we travelled in Syria we found similar feelings expressed by the Arabs, in reference to their deliverance from the Egyptian government. The reason is obvious. It was gradually bringing them under restraint, to the security and peace of the whole country, though with a harshness and cruelty, perhaps, which we have no occasion to justify. The Christians, on the other hand, without exception, deeply lamented to us the re-establishment of the Turkish government, and declared that they were grossly deceived by the four allied powers which lent their assistance to the Sulṭán; and who, instead of settling the country as they had professed to do, had given it up as a prey to the destroyer.

A little in advance of the Ḳaṣr es-Sír, we fell in with the Wádí 'Aráárah, rather an extensive-looking down, stretching before us to the north. We passed in it several shepherds with their flocks, both of sheep and goats, and met several companies of travellers with asses and camels, going southeast to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. We also came

[1] Parliamentary Papers on the Levant, (1841,) vol. iii. p. 330.

upon one or two small herds of cattle. They were like most of those which we saw in other parts of Syria, of a small size, with brown and rather shaggy hair, short horns, and small hams.[1] About eleven o'clock we came to some indistinct ruins, of which Dr. Robinson probably justly says, "The name [Ar'aárah] leaves little room to question, that this is the site of the ancient AROER of the south of Judah, to which David sent presents after the recovery of the spoil of Ziklag."[2]

In deference to our inquiries for Wádí es-Sebá, our Arabs now struck off to the N.W. Had we gone to the N.E. some four or five miles farther, we should have arrived at the site and ruins of Milh, which Dr. Robinson, properly discarding the idea of any etymological affinity in the names, is disposed to regard as the site of the MOLADAH of the Old Testament, the Melatha of the Greeks and Romans, and the situation of which seems pretty much to correspond with the allusions which are made to Malatha by ancient writers.[3]

The country through which we now advanced was decidedly pastoral in its aspect and undulating in its form. About

[1] Black cattle are by no means abundant in any part of the country.

[2] 1 Sam. xxx. 26-28. Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 618. Speaking of the valley here, Dr. Robinson says, "Here in the broad Wady are many pits for water, (Themáil), *which are called 'Ar'aárah*, and give *name* to the valley. The water is good, but most of the pits are now dry." These pits did not strike our attention; but granting them to exist, which I readily do in deference to the doctor, they could not have given name to the valley. Neither עֲרֹעֵר (Aroer) in Hebrew, nor عرعارة (Ar'aárah) in Arabic, means water-pits. The professor has evidently been guilty of a lapsus, confounding the latter word with the Hebrew GERAR, and Arabic جرار (*Jirár*,) signifying water-pots.

[3] "Moladah was situated in the extreme south of Judah towards Edom; it was afterwards assigned to Simeon, and was again inhabited after the exile. Josephus also mentions Malatha as, in his day, a Castle of Idumea. Eusebius and Jerome speak of it several times, and place it four Roman miles from Arad, on the way from Hebron to Aila by Thamara; Arad itself being, according to them, twenty miles from Hebron. Still later, Malatha is noticed as the sta-

seven or eight miles from Aràárah, we came into the western part of the Wádí es-Sebà, in which, as we learned, Bír es-Seb'a lay to the left of us, at a distance of not more than two hours. We were sorry to find that we were not to have an opportunity of approaching nearer to that interesting locality; but it was some mitigation of our disappointment that we expected that Mordecai the Jew from India would visit it on his way to Hebron, as he actually did. The only report which we got from him, when we met him at Hebron, was, that the "wells of the oath were wonderfully deep," that the water, of which he had brought a small bottle for the gratification of our curiosity, was very sweet, and that he had found at the place an "extraordinary animal"—a small fresh-water turtle, it turned out to be—"which he was sure we should highly prize."[1] He spoke, however, with more enthusiasm of the place where his great progenitor "called on the name of Jehovah, the everlasting God,"[2] than he felt at Mount Sinai itself which was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel.[3]

Without giving us the slightest warning, our Arabs about three o'clock in the afternoon, unloaded our camels in Wádí

tion of a Roman cohort." For the body of authorities on which these facts are mentioned, *vid.* Reland. Palestin., p. 885. Dr. Robinson adds, "To all these circumstances, as it seems to me, the situation of el-Milh very exactly corresponds. We have here the vestiges of an extensive town with important wells, on the great route from Hebron to the Red Sea through the 'Arabah; and in the N.E. by E. we still find Tell 'Arâd, about an hour and a-half from Milh, and some eight hours distant from Hebron on a different route."—Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 621, 622.

[1] Dr. Robinson informs us that the larger well is twelve and a-half feet in diameter, and forty-four and a-half feet deep to the surface of the water, and that the smaller is five feet in diameter, and forty-two feet deep. The ruins of buildings are mere traces of foundations on the low hills to the north of the town.—Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 300. Sir John Maundeville, (A.D. 1322-56,) speaks of "Beersabee that was wont to ben fulle fair Town and a delytable of Cristene Men: And zit there ben summe of here Chirches."—Voiage and Travaile, p. 65.

[2] Gen. xxi. 33.

[3] Psalm lxviii. 8.

es-Sebà, and informed us that as they were now approaching Dhahariyah, to which they had engaged to take us, they must have their accounts settled with us before they moved a step farther. We thought their proceedings indicated an intention to rob us; but, as we could get no assistance, we were obliged to comply with their demands. When they got payment in full, they told us, that having some time ago murdered a man at Dhahariyah, they durst not approach the village till midnight, and that they would make their escape the moment they set us down in its vicinity. This announcement increased our anxieties; but we, nevertheless, had no apprehensions of our personal safety, as we believed, that if they had really intended to do us mischief, they would have laid hands upon us on our leaving Petra. We scolded and threatened them as best we could; and they then told us to keep our minds quiet. Before sunset they reloaded the camels, and renewed their journey, proceeding northward through the Wádí Khalíl, by which the drainage from Hebron is conveyed into the Wádí es-Sebà. Darkness soon settled down upon us, and we had a most unpleasant ride for some seven or eight miles among the rough hills of Judah, which we were ascending, and every prominence and knoll of which in daylight would have proved exceedingly interesting. At ten o'clock we reached Dhahariyah, and our tents were immediately raised as silently as possible. The village dogs, however, were not long in giving the alarm, and one or two strangers—most ugly and filthy fellows they proved to be—were instantly in attendance. Some of our camel men vanished like the lightning; but four or five of them informed us that they would remain with us till the morning. We were much exhausted by the long ride, and to add to our discomfort, the rain began to fall upon us in torrents, making a free passage for itself through our thin tents. A fire could not be kept in to make ready our dinner, and our un-

welcome visitors made off in the confusion with some of our cooking-vessels. We could find no dry spot in which to spread our mats and blankets, and we felt quite benumbed with cold and hunger. Our circumstances were as unlike those of the morning as we could well conceive; and it required more than philosophy to keep us from murmuring and complaining.

Saturday, 18th March.—We had a most uncomfortable night, and not a much more comfortable day. It was our effort, however, not to be put out of humour either by the unfavourable weather or the annoyances which we received from the people, and at the same time to make the best of the opportunities of observation and inquiry which we might enjoy.

Our first care was to arrange matters for our proceeding to Hebron. The head-man, or Sheikh el-Balad of Dhahariyah, early promised to furnish us with camels, to enable us to continue our journey; but we soon saw that it was his object to detain us throughout the day, probably that he might gain a few piastres from us on the supplies which he might furnish. We could only remonstrate against his procrastination.

Our next concern was to send away such of our Tiyáhah Arabs as had remained with us during the night. Before parting with them I examined them particularly respecting the different tribes of their confederacy; and on this occasion I obtained from them most of the information respecting their clans, which I give elsewhere. They answered more readily than usual the questions which I addressed to them, no doubt in the hope—which I did not disappoint—of receiving bakshish. They spoke much of some wonderful antiquities in Wádí Ghabíyah, about two days and a-half from Nakhl in the great desert, and with so much earnestness, as to warrant us to recommend any intelligent traveller

who may be able to accomplish the enterprise, when passing the village of the date-palm, to make the attempt to reach them. Where or what they are, they would not particularly tell us; but they are "wonderful, wonderful." The judgment of the European pilgrim, however, may prove to be of a very different description.

The delay which was caused by the reluctance of the people of Dhahariyah, enabled us to examine the village, and to make some little excursions round the height on which it stands, and on the neighbouring eminences.

Dhahariyah has seen better times than those which it now enjoys, as the *disjecta membra* of its former buildings, and the remains of a Kasr, a tower or castle, and one or two other erections, sufficiently show. At present it consists of about eighty square and round burrowing places, partly excavated from the ruins, and partly covered with mud and stones, into which as many families are crammed, when their members are together; a pretty large arched khán or caravanserai, in which we found most of the male population lolling and laughing, and smoking and spitting, and swearing and abusing one another, round an immense fire of sticks, charcoal, and dried cow-dung, the only fuel now, as probably in the days of old, in the land of Canaan; a number of pits or magazines, in some of which grain and lumber are deposited, and into others of which the bodies of the dead are thrown, that the trouble of digging graves may be avoided; and of dunghills the accumulation of years, literally as high as the hovels themselves. It resembles many other places which we afterwards saw in different parts of the country, and which are perhaps even sadder indications of the desolation and degradation of the land, than the numerous districts which are left without an inhabitant. The villagers, as distinguished from the Badawín, are denominated Hadhr Arabs. The stout lubbardly men, with their

blotched faces, glotted and curly beards, and shaggy apparel —several of them wearing a sheepskin tied over their shoulders—were the very personifications of filth and laziness. The women, who were unveiled, were tolerably well-clothed, and had much more frankness and kindness about them than their lords and masters.

In the neighbourhood of the village there are many large patches, and masses of bare white rock, with the stratification very imperfectly shown, which, though in appearance indurated like compact limestone, is like most of the heights of Judah, Samaria, and Galilee, merely hardened chalk of the upper Jura formation. There are several cultivated fields which were sown with barley, and plenty of good pasturage of herbs, shrubs, and grasses for sheep, goats, and camels. On the crown of a small hill we found in the bed of a quarry, a number of thriving fig-trees. Care seemed to be taken of them, as the soil on which they were grown was very clean.

When at Dhahariyah, we remembered that we were among the mountains of the south of Judah, referred to in that most remarkable chapter of Scripture geography, the fifteenth of Joshua, in which the *boundaries* of the tribes are precisely laid down, and its principal *towns*, as they existed about fifteen hundred years before Christ, are distinctly enumerated according to their *districts;* and stimulated by the great success of Dr. Robinson in our neighbourhood, we availed ourselves of the glimpses of sunshine which we had, and looked around us at the villages which were visible, and made inquiries about the ruins which might be in their neighbourhood. Our attention was particularly called to Semúa, lying some five or six miles to the east of our encampment. This place is thus noticed by Lord Lindsay:— "Five miles from el-Melek, (Milh) we arrived at the village of Simoa or Simoo. . . . The hill above the village is

crowned by a ruined castle, which shows imposingly from a distance, though poorly on a nearer inspection. . . . . This place I take to be the ancient Shema enumerated in the Book of Numbers, (Joshua,) among the cities of the hill country of Judah."[1] Dr. Robinson says, "it probably corresponds to the ancient ESHTEMOA;"[2] and I doubt not he is correct in this opinion; for Shema is mentioned as being situated in *another* district of country, that comprehending "the uttermost cities of the children of Judah, toward the coast of Edom southward."[3] On the supposition that this attempt at identification is correct, let us see how matters stand in regard to that of the other towns associated with it in Scripture. "And in the *mountains*, Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh, and Dannah, and Kirjath-Sanna, which is Debir, and Anab, and Ashtemoh, and Anim, and Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh, eleven cities with their villages."[4] Of these nine towns, the sites of *five*, I think, are still found a little to the east of the neighbourhood of Dhahariyah. Dr. Robinson observed, at a little distance from his path, on his route to and from Petra, those of ANAB, retaining its ancient name to this day, (Anáb); SOCOH, (Shaweikah, the diminutive form); ESHTEMOH, (Semúá as above); and JATTIR, (Attír.)[5] This is a fact of no small interest. Anab, Eshtemoh, and Jattir are among the villages, of which he says, that from the days of Jerome, until the present century,[6] their names do not occur in history, or have been known as being still in existence. As far as I know, this statement is correct, except, perhaps, in regard to Jattir, which is referred to in a work of Hebrew geography, first brought to my no-

[1] Letters on the Holy Land, vol. ii. p. 49.

[2] "The Hebrew name," says the Doctor in a note, "has the Hithpael form, which might easily pass over into the Arabic name, with the article es-Semû'a."—Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 194.

[3] Josh. xv. 21, 26.

[4] Josh. xv. 48-51.

[5] Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 195.

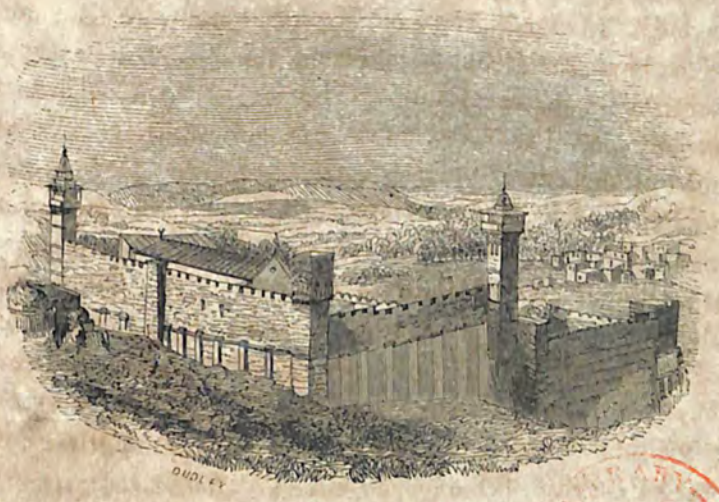
[6] Semua and Shaweikah are given in Seetzen's map.

tice by the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, and with the loan of which I was there favoured, the Khaphtor va-Ferach of Esthori ha-Parchi.[1] The affinity of the Arabic with the Hebrew language, has preserved the names which might be expected to have been lost many ages ago, to the illustration of the Divine word, and the confirmation of our faith in its authenticity and genuineness. Drawing a line on the map, round the sites which have been thus identified, we include the village named "Ghuwein" by Dr. Robinson. This being the diminutive form of Ain, the Doctor takes it to be the town of AIN mentioned in Joshua xv. 32. Ain, as he was aware, however, is stated to have been, not in the district of the "mountains" where we here find it, but in the district "toward the coast of Edom southward." The Doctor proposes to get over the difficulty, by supposing that being near the south border of the mountain district, it may have been included in that still farther south. "Ain," he says, "being situated near the natural border, may have been reckoned to the south, although not strictly belonging to it."[2] This is not altogether satisfactory. Ghawein, I take without any hesitation, both from its position and name, to be not the town of AIN, but of ANIM, mentioned in the mountain district, in the passage from Joshua quoted above. Anim (עָנִים) is merely a contraction for עֲיָנִים AINIM, "fountains," and in Arabic it is as suitably represented by Ghawein as by Ain itself, as nothing is more common than to drop the plural and assume the singular in the permutation of proper names.[3] This discovery of Anim, if my gracious reader will allow me to call it such, is the most agreeable result of our visit to Dhahariyah. The village of Dhahariyah probably occupies the site of some of the other towns mentioned in Joshua, a change having occurred in its name.

[1] See the reference in Dr. Zunz's Analysis of this work, in Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, vol. ii. p. 442.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 625.

[3] Take, as examples, Dura for ADORAIM, which is still found west of Hebron, 'Anáta for ANATHOTH, Mahanah for MAHANAIM.



Mosk over the Cave of Machpelah, at Hebron.

## CHAPTER XII.

### FROM DHAHARIYAH TO JERUSALEM.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of March, we found ourselves apparently as far as ever from the attainment of our object, as to the procuring of camels at Dhaharíyah; and Mr. Smith and I resolved at all hazards to proceed to Hebron, distant five or six hours to the north-east, in order to obtain the means of transporting thither our luggage, which we were willing should remain, in the meantime, at Dhaharíyah, under the care of Dhanjibháí and our other attendants. The endeavours of the Dhaharíyah folks to detain us with fair promises of procuring the needful, were at first in vain. Enwrapped in our Turkish cloaks, and with staff in hand, we set forth on our journey. After clearing a

knoll near our encampment, we descended into a considerable Wádí through the common track. When we were ascending the height on the northern side of this Wádí, we observed two men running to us with all their speed; and conjecturing that they wished to force us to return, we got quickly out of their sight, and hid ourselves among the adjoining rocks. They passed on for some distance, but immediately returned in search of us, and detecting us, they assured us, that in a few minutes our whole cavalcade should make its appearance, as the requisite number of camels had been obtained. The information proved correct. We saw in the distance, about three o'clock, a procession of the animals, ten in number, with, I suppose, the whole men of the village advancing to overtake us. Our friends were soon with us, and after demanding and obtaining prepayment, they left the camels with us under the care of one of their number, Sheikh Ahmed, and two drivers only for the whole Ḳafilah. The camel allotted to me had no halter, and merely a bare wooden frame placed over the hump as a saddle. I had no right control of the animal, and it was most uncomfortable to me to sit upon it, pelted too, as I was, by the heavy rain. Mr. Smith, on seeing my miserable plight, wisely determined to walk the whole way to Hebron, a distance of about fourteen miles, a feat which he succeeded in accomplishing, notwithstanding the cumbersome apparel in which he was arrayed.

We were not in circumstances on this march to pay much attention to the country through which we were passing. Our path lay over a succession of swelling heights and small valleys, and not far from the general summit of the principal range of this part of the country of Judea. Some of the valleys to which we came had a good deal of cultivation in them. In Wádí ed-Dilbah, we observed a clear purling

brook, apparently proceeding from a reservoir near our track. We crossed Wádí Ḳeis, about two-thirds of the distance from Hebron. A good deal of low and thin jungle, principally of prickly oak, mountain juniper, and black thorn, covered the sides of the hills. Much bare white rock attracted our attention; and also the remains of ancient terraces. As we got near Hebron we observed some enclosures with olive and other cultivated trees; but, owing to the darkness, we could form little idea of their extent.

When we were about to descend into the valley in which Hebron is situated, my unmanageable camel thought fit to come to a dead stand. "Touch him up," cried Dhanjibhái, who was coming on behind me. "Gently," said I, "lest we make a false motion, and go we know not whither." The caution of the beast and his rider were alike providential, as standing upon a sheet of rock, we had got upon the very verge of an unseen precipice. One of the camel-drivers was just forward in time to save us both from being cast headlong to the bottom.

It was about nine o'clock when we arrived in Hebron, that ancient city which was "built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,"[1] and which is so hallowed in the history of the great patriarchs. We entered it on foot by a low gate; and groping our way through its dark streets, we went direct to the Jews' quarter, where our friend Mordecai had for weeks been awaiting our arrival. We knocked at the door, by which is the entrance to this division of the town; and as soon as it was announced that the "travellers from Hind" had arrived, there was a general turn-out of its inmates, to bid us welcome to the place which became the first possession of Abraham in the land of promise. Every thing, they told us, was in readiness for our reception, at the house of one of the

[1] Numbers xiii. 22.

Rabbis. Before we passed its threshold we were embraced by all its members, of all ages and both sexes; and so many persons offered us their services that we really knew not how to avail ourselves of their kindness. We were conducted to a vaulted room, raised from the general passage, having diwáns in the Turkish style at its extremity, and covered with carpets. We were told that it was the best in the house; and that it was set apart for our use while we might remain in the place. Several lamps with olive oil, the product of the Vale of Mamre, and a fire of charcoal, were immediately kindled. Our luggage, carried from the gates by some of the willing youth who came to our assistance, was quickly at our command. The damsels brought us water for our ablutions, offering at the same time to wash our feet, in discharge of the primitive rites of hospitality. We were speedily arrayed in dry clothes. A dainty repast was set before us; and every thing which we could desire was at our command. After escaping the exposure and toils of the desert, and the rough travel of the night, we found ourselves, amidst all these comforts, in some measure grateful, I trust, to our Heavenly Father and Guardian, from whose grace they flowed. In our social worship, we returned thanks for all the protection extended to us, during perhaps the most perilous part of our journey, and for the mercy and goodness which He was making to continue with and abound toward us.

Sabbath, 19th March.—The rest of this holy day was much needed by us, both physically and spiritually; and it was much enjoyed. After our little party had engaged in social worship, conducted according to the forms used in a more public administration of divine ordinances, we read together, according to a practice which we found to be very advantageous, the different passages of Scripture in which the interesting locality, in which we now were, is brought

to our notice. I perused also in Hebrew, and endeavoured to commit to memory, the principal passages of the Old Testament, to which I should most likely have occasion to appeal in my discussions with the Jews in their own land. It was not long before I had occasion, in conversation with several individuals who called upon us in the course of the day, to make a practical use of those arrows of divine truth with which I thus sought to store my quiver. The imperfect command which I had of Arabic and Hebrew, which I had but little occasion to use in my ordinary missionary labours in the farther east, was doubtless a great impediment in the way of my address; but I was happy to observe that my meaning was in general fully understood. When I did fail to convey my sentiments, I got Mordecai, to whom I spoke in Hindustání, to act as my interpreter. A young Rabbi, who had perfect control of his temper, proved an able defendant of Judaism. He frequently felt unable, however, in a manner satisfactory to himself, to answer the Christian argument; and he referred me to Talmudical commentaries, where he thought his interpretations of Scripture would be amply vindicated. He accepted from us a copy of the Hebrew New Testament, holding himself quite prepared, as he said, to give it a candid perusal, and to compare it with Moses and the prophets.

When we were thus proceeding with the Jews, the Muhammadan Chief of Hebron, the Sheikh Ábdur-Raḥman, came to pay us his respects, bringing a sheep with him as his introductory present. He had been conversing with Mordecai about our expected arrival, and he seemed to have high notions of our importance. The Jews were surprised to see him in their own quarter, which they said he had not visited for a long period; and they feared that he was about to force us to become his guests. Having been introduced to

Dhanjibhái, as formerly a worshipper of fire, but now a servant of God, he said to the Jews, "Now is the time for you to get the needful done to you. Come instantly forward and become Nazarenes. You will never have an opportunity like the present." We told him that conversion was the work of God, through the instrumentality of his own word, and that faith ought to precede profession. He then got upon the subject of our entertainment at Hebron; but we begged him not to interfere with the arrangements which we had made with our kind hosts the Jews, for whom we cherished the warmest regard; and we promised at the same time to make some demands on his proffered kindness. This was exactly what he wished; and he was pleased with the hope of his being able to entitle himself to a bakshish. We understood from the beginning the grand object to which his desires were pointed. Before he left us,—with a view to endeavour to impress him with a sense of his obligation to protect the Jews,—we told him that the people of England were much interested in their welfare; and that our great Queen Victoria had testified her approbation of the interference of Sir Moses Montefiore in behalf of the persecuted Jews of Damascus, by allowing him to use some of the highest emblems of honour in our country.[1] He remembered the visit of Sir Moses to Hebron.

Monday, 20th March.—This morning we observed, to our joy, such an improvement in the weather, which had been rather stormy in these heights for several days, as led us, on our getting into the Hebron gardens, behind the Jews' quarter, to exclaim, "Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time

[1] We here alluded to the patent bestowed upon Sir Moses, allowing him to have a crest with supporters, which we had seen noticed in the Voice of Jacob.

of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land." We were unable to add, however, "The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell;"[1] for no fruit had begun to appear on these the choice plants of the land. They were just beginning to send forth their buds.

The first thing which we did to day after breakfast, was to return the call made upon us by the sheikh. On the way to his house we passed through the bázárs of the town, which have a respectable appearance. A good deal of business seemed to be going on amongst the people who frequented them. Not the slightest annoyance was offered to us, as we went along, even though our Indian travelling-dresses must have been something of a novelty to the Sultán's lieges in this quarter of the world. The sheikh received us in his public apartments, where his clerks were at work, and though with perfect kindness, certainly not with that graceful ease and complacency which are habitually exhibited even by the third or fourth class Sirdárs in India. He had few questions to ask us; and it was no very easy matter to get him engaged in free conversation. At last we had him fairly set a-going. When speaking of Abraham, I alluded to the Scripture account of his purchase of the cave of Machpelah, which was only a few yards distant from his residence. "Aye," said he, "Ibráhím was a man of no common strength of intellect. He *did* Hábrun (Ephron) to some purpose in that purchase. Ibráhím asked merely as much ground as could be covered with a cow's hide; but after the agreement was concluded, he cut the hide into thongs, and surrounded the whole of the space now forming the Haram." Cunning thus seemed a greater virtue in the sheikh's eyes than honesty. While we protested against the imputation of his story, we felt some interest in observing in it a new edi-

[1] Song of Solomon, ii. 11-13.

tion of the old legend of Dido, and the foundation of Carthage. It is a curious fact that a similar account is given by the uncivilized Kolís of the western parts of India of the purchase of the soil on which Jawár, their principal village in the northern Konkan, now stands.

As the sheikh expected some presents from us, we took care to include among them a few books which might be useful to himself and his people. He readily received from us a copy of the New Testament, a little work on geography, and one or two pamphlets, all in Arabic; and, after slightly examining them himself, he handed them to his clerks for their inspection. One of these scribes seemed much pleased with them, and apparently without any dissatisfaction said, "They are the work of the Naṣrání," or Nazarenes. This individual we found to be a Copt. We were not before aware that a single Christian was now resident in Hebron. Our gift of books, I may here mention, gave rise to applications for copies of the Injíl, from several other Muhammadans in the place. Among the persons whom we supplied was the Kádhí, or judge. We afterwards found, during our journeys in Syria, that we could occasionally distribute the Scriptures and Christian tracts among the educated Arabs of the different towns. Not a single copy, however, did we succeed in getting the Turks to accept. Had we had private access to them, and facility of conversation with them in their own language, the result might have been different.

When we took leave of the sheikh he requested some of his people to attend us as long as we might remain in the town, and to let us "see as much of the sacred enclosure of the Ḥaram as it is lawful for Christian eyes to look upon, and more than any Franks have yet seen." In this case we made allowance for an attempt to flatter us; and we restrained our expectations. We were just upon the point, however, of getting them more than realized—having as-

cended the large staircase by which there is the entrance from below, and having got through its vestibule,—when a boisterous attack by the bigoted keepers of the mosk upon Mordecai, who was imprudently following us into the inner enclosure, forced us to turn back, and to content ourselves with an examination of the exterior of the fabric. I leave my reader to go within in the company of Ali Bey, the Spanish traveller, who, about forty years ago made his entrance into the sanctum in the unjustifiable disguise of a Muhammadan pilgrim. "The sepulchres of Abraham and of his family are in a temple that was formerly a Greek church. The ascent to it is by a large and fine staircase that leads to a long gallery, the entrance to which is by a small court. Towards the left is a portico resting upon square pillars. The vestibule of the temple contains two rooms; the one to the right contains the sepulchre of Abraham, and the other to the left that of Sarah. In the body of the church, which is Gothic, between two large pillars on the right, is seen a small house in which is the sepulchre of Isaac, and in a similar one upon the left is that of his wife. This church, which has been converted into a mosk, has a meherel, the tribune for the preacher upon Fridays; and another tribune for the mueddens or singers. On the other side of the court is another vestibule, which has also a room on each side. In that upon the left is the sepulchre of Jacob, and in that upon the right, that of his wife.

"At the extremity of the portico of the temple upon the right, is a door which leads to a sort of long gallery, that still serves as a mosque; from thence I passed into another room, in which is the sepulchre of Joseph, who died in Egypt, and whose ashes were brought hither by the people of Israel.[1] All the sepulchres of the patriarchs are covered with rich carpets of green silk, magnificently embroidered with

[1] Joseph's bones were buried in Shechem.—Josh. xxiv. 32.

gold; those of their wives are red, embroidered in like manner. The sulṭáns of Constantinople furnish these carpets, which are renewed from time to time. I counted nine, one over the other, upon the sepulchre of Abraham. The rooms also which contain the tombs are covered with rich carpets; the entrance to them is guarded by iron gates and wooden doors, plated with silver, with bolts and padlocks of the same metal. There are reckoned more than a hundred persons employed in the service of the Temple; it is consequently easy to imagine how many alms must be made."[1]

With this account, however, let the reader compare the two following notices by celebrated Jewish travellers:—

"The ancient city of Hebron was (situated) upon the hill; but it is in ruins at present, and the modern town stands in the valley in the field of Machpelah. Here is the large fane called St. Abraham,[2] which, during the time of the Ishmaelites, (Muhammadans,) was a synagogue of the Jews. The Gentiles (Christians) have erected six sepulchres in this place (falsely) in the name of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and Leah. They say to the pilgrims that they are the sepulchres of the patriarchs, and extort money from them. But if any Jew come and give a bribe to the keeper of the cave, they open an iron door which dates from the times of our forefathers, (upon whom be peace!) and with a burning taper in his hands, the visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six tombs, those of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, one opposite the other. All these tombs bear inscriptions, the letters being engraved as upon the tomb of Abraham—THIS IS THE TOMB OF OUR FATHER ABRA-

[1] Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

[2] וְשָׁם הַבָּמָה הַגְּדוֹלָה שֶׁקּוֹרִין שַׂנְטְ אַבְרָהָם.

HAM, (upon whom be peace !) and so upon that of Isaac and all the other tombs. A lamp burns in the cave and upon the tombs constantly, both day and night. And you there see boxes filled with the bones of Israelites ; for it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring thither the bones of the relicts and of their forefathers, and to leave them there, unto this day."[1]

"Hebron," says the author of Jichus ha-Aboth in 1537, "is Kiriath-Arba, in the land of Canaan, where is the double cave in which are buried the everlasting patriarchs, Adam and Eve,[2] Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah. Above the cave is a remarkable and beautiful building, which is attributed to King David. Near the gates is a hole in the wall, which they say reaches even unto the cave. There the Jews pray ; for they are not permitted to enter into the interior. They distribute daily, morning and evening, bread and meat in honour of Abraham our father ; and at the time of distribution, they express their joy by songs, drums, and dances, in honour of Abraham our father. They say, likewise, that there is in the cave the head of Esau. In the middle of the city is Abner, the son of Ner, in a synagogue of the Gentiles, in a cave. Without the bounds of the city, above, upon the mountain, is an elegant structure, in which is buried Jesse, the father of David. Near it is the house of the living (the cemetery) allotted for the Israelites. And below, at the mountain, near the city, are three wells named after the patriarchs, upon whom be peace. In the vicinity of the city, among the vineyards, are the oaks of Mamre, where is the house of Abraham our

[1] Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, pp. 76, 77, compared with the original Hebrew of the passage.

[2] The imagination of the interment of Adam and Eve, near Hebron, is as old as the days of Jerome.—Comment. ad Matth., 27.

father—the tree also under which the angels ate, and the stone on which he sat, when he was circumcised."[1]

The Jews of Hebron at the present day have the notions of the contents of the cave that are here expressed; but none of them are allowed, on any consideration, to enter its interior. They are content to repeat their prayers at the hole of the wall to which reference has now been made. Ludolphus de Suchem, in 1336, mentions that at that time the Jews were admitted into the cave, even though Christians were generally excluded. Three of his party got in by purchase.[2] The wall surrounding the Haram is about seventy yards in length, and rather more than half that extent in breadth. It forms a kind of fortlet, and as such it has of late years been more than once used. Its height, owing to the nature of the ground, is unequal; but the wall, at an average, may perhaps be about sixty feet. It has every appearance of great antiquity below; but more modern work appears above. The ancient stones are very large, and bevelled in the edges, in the Phœnician style. Some of them have had grooves made in them by the chisel in some places, to make them correspond with the smaller ones above; but their real magnitude is seen on a near inspection. We measured the one which appeared the largest; it was thirty-eight feet in length, by three feet four inches in depth. This part of the work is neither Christian nor Saracenic, and in all probability it is as ancient as the times of the Jewish kings. This is the more probable, that Josephus mentions that Abraham and his descendants erected monuments (τα μνημεῖα

[1] Jichus-ha-Aboth, pp. 1-3. This interesting Hebrew tract was translated into Latin by the great Orientalist, Hottinger. It has been too much overlooked by travellers.—Vid. Cipp. Hebraic. pp. 26-88.

[2] Ludolphus De Terra Sancta, fol. 23.

κατεσκευασάντο) over the sepulchre purchased from Ephraim, (Ephron,) and that the monuments were seen in his day, built of beautiful marble, and wrought most elegantly.[1] The existence of such works at this place is alluded to by Christian pilgrims and travellers from the days of Jerome to the present time. The building within the enclosure, which is now used as a mosk, was doubtless originally a church. Ali Bey, it will have been seen, speaks of it as a Greek church; but the appearance of the architecture with pointed arches, as given in his own drawings—as remarked by Dr. Robinson—would indicate that it is the work of the Crusaders. The towers at the corners of the enclosure are not symmetrical. Two of them are at present used for summoning the Musalmáns to prayer. The view which we had taken of the Haram, is from the hill on which it stands.[2] On this hill we found some Musalmán graves, and traces of ruins, which may have belonged to the ancient town which is said, with some degree of probability, to have stood originally on the height. Most of the towns and villages of the country did, and do now, occupy such a position. As Hebron was a city of refuge, it might be of consequence, as has been sometimes remarked, that it was seen from a distance. It is a Rabbinical tradition that it was visible from the temple of Jerusalem in the morning light.[3]

Passing the corner of the Haram, we observed a Musalmán school; and, on our stepping into it, there seemed to be a general consternation among the little urchins who were there in the process of being disciplined by an aged Mulláh. Their venerable preceptor recalled them to reason by a rather indiscriminate application of his ferula; and they proceeded to repeat their lessons at the fullest stretch of their voice. They were all squatted on the ground. One

[1] Antiq. lib. i. cap. 14; De Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 9. 7.

[2] See above, p. 355.

[3] Reland. Palestin. p. 711.

or two of them had copies of the Ḳurán before them, inclined on a little cross stool rising above the height of their navel. It is considered derogatory to that "sacred work" to dispose of it at a lower elevation when it is in use. One of their number was the son of the governor of the town. We presented him with an Indian silk handkerchief, with which he was vastly pleased, and which, we afterwards found, failed not to excite the cupidity of his parent.

The teacher of this school took us to the grave of Abner, which is under his care. The room in which it is found is rather dark; and there is a descent into it by a few steps. The grave itself measures about twelve feet, corresponding, it was said to us, in length with that of the warrior who is its reputed occupant. This is ascribing to him a stature greater even than that of Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, in the sight of whom, at Hebron, the timid Israelitish spies were as grasshoppers.[1]

Leaving the neighbourhood of the Ḥaram, we proceeded through the town to the larger pool of Hebron, which lies in the valley below. According to our Indian notions, it is but a small tank, being only about 133 feet on each side. It is built on the edges; and the workmanship, which must have often required repair, as far as it is seen, appears modern. At two of the corners, (not at each corner, as mentioned by Dr. Robinson,) there is a descent to it by twenty-four steps. The other pool, which is smaller, is at the southern gate. If these pools belonged to the ancient town of Hebron—and it is extremely probable that they

[1] Numbers xiii. 22-33. *Sheshai* is supposed to have derived his name from his stature being measured by six cubits. Bocharti Geograph. Sac. p. 362. Bochart, who expresses his belief that the *Phenicians* derived their name from a corruption and softening of the word *Bene-Anak*, (the children of Anak,) makes some interesting observations on the names of the sons of Anak at Hebron. Josephus speaks of human bones existing there in his day, of an incredible size.—Antiq. Jud., lib. 5, cap. 2. 3.

did—it is likely that it was over one of them that David hanged the murderers of Ishbosheth.[1]

Our next walk was to the burying-ground of the Jews, called by themselves, the "house of the living." Very few of the flat gravestones there have any inscriptions; and none of them did I see of any importance. Keeping along the face of the hill on which it is situated, we came to several excavated sepulchres, among which we saw one ascribed to Othniel, having several small recesses. I elsewhere give a list of the tombs in Hebron and its neighbourhood which are visited by the Jewish pilgrims. They have no intrinsic interest whatever, except those of the patriarchs, to which we have already referred.

On returning to our lodgings, we were informed that all the principal Sephardim Jews, headed by their chief, or Ḥákim, were ready to attend upon us to bid us welcome to Hebron, and to give me an opportunity of conferring with them about any matters in which we might be mutually interested. They were not long in making their appearance, and that, too, in such numbers, that the room in which we were lodging, and the passage before us, could scarcely accommodate them. After saluting us, they called for my letter of introduction from the Arabian Jews resident in Bombay; and on my handing it to them, they had it read with all due formality and interest. As it is rather a curious document of its kind, I here introduce a hasty translation of it, which may be compared with the original in the second volume of this work. The deference which it expresses for the Rabbis of the Holy Land is sufficiently humble and reverential.

"[To] the kings of hosts—who are for a sign and wonder the honoured of the honoured—the upright and the perfect—who are a heap of spices—and incense of spices—men of

[1] 2 Sam. iv. 12.

benignity and compassion—the entirely holy—who repeat '*The thrice holy,*'—the champions and heroes—who have the law in their hearts—who have the breastplate of judgment on their hearts—the holy seed—the called to the assembly, the holy convocation—those in whose honour the holy and blessed one delights—and those in whom the Lord is praised—the beloved and delightful—the distinguished for all nations—sons of virtue that fear God—that love the law and its students—that take fast hold of it and support it—who are great in their deeds—who are the supports of the house of Israel—our brethren of the house of Israel—who are in the four districts, JERUSALEM, TSAPHATH, (Ṣafed,) HEBRON, and TABERIAH, (Tiberias,)—the dwellers in the land of Israel, and that are in every place—the pillars and the bases—who are the leaders out and in—whose fulness is to the end of the world—the distinguished rabbis—that lighten like lightning—that are admirable in their work—that are one and all—who turn not aside from any thing. May the Lord of hosts be their shield—let peace be upon their possessions—let prosperity be in their dwellings—let them receive the blessing of the Lord—let their horn be exalted—let the Lord be their help and their shield. Amen. So let it be his pleasure.

"From the desert of the East, we that enjoy peace, [give] our salutations, numerous and strong. Let there be multiplied corn in their years—peace in their fortresses—let their greatness increase—let there be praise and festivity in their dwelling—the garment of praise and the covering of the bridegrooms. Let them be made princes—great rulers Let them be for lights!—Remembering the merits of the fathers—[Let there be] after them, cassia for perfume five hundred[fold]—[Let them be] before the princes of hosts.—May He sustain them, and elevate them everlastingly. Amen. Selah.

"This is from us the undersigned. We make known to your Reverences that there goes from among us one who is of the men of the English, and who is of the city of Bombay. May it stand for ever! And he is a great man, and his name is padre JOHN WILSON. He is highly counted of, and of generous heart. He desires to go to the four districts to perform the pilgrimage. We entreat of you that your reverences may do him honour in every place where the sole of his foot may tread. This will hallow the name of the Lord. For he loveth Israel, and is generous with his property, and sheweth kindness to all Israel. Whatever act of kindness you will do to him, we shall consider as if it had been done to ourselves. This is sufficient for the intelligent. And in this manner may the height of the throne of their reverences be lifted up and exalted. As the thrones of kings, may their greatness be multiplied both in their courts and palaces. May the Lord bless their portion, and be pleased with the work of their hands as with a burnt-offering, a sweet smelling savour to the Lord. The upright shall dwell rejoicing, and being glad, safe in their imaginings. Let their tents prosper. [Let them be like] myrrh and aloes, and like gardens by a river—like tents that the Lord hath planted—like pleasant plants. Let there be strength and pleasure in all their borders. Ye shall dwell safely in your land. The Lord God of recompenses shall requite. May goodness be multiplied upon the house of Israel! . . . . Written in the city of Bombay on the fourth of the month Tebeth, in the year: 'He shall blow with the great trumpet because the Lord will save his people Israel.' (תרס 5603.") (Here follow the signatures.)

On this grave production having been read, the venerable and learned rabbis handed it round from one to another, renewed their salutations, and kindly inquired for the elders of the congregation of Bombay whose signatures it bears.

The Ḥákim then told me that he was extremely happy that I had come to visit the afflicted Jews in their own land, and cordially thanked me for all the kindness which I had shown to the afflicted Jews of India, of which, he said, he had before heard from the *Shelohim*, who had been sent from Hebron to collect alms for their relief in that country. Rabbi Moshe, one of these messengers, whom I had seen in Bombay, upon this rose and shook hands with us, according to the customs of Europe.

The information which we received from the Sephardim Jews on this occasion, is briefly the following. They are but a poor and small community, consisting of forty-five families, with about 250 souls. With one or two exceptions, they consider it unbecoming the object which they have in view in settling in the country,—that of weeping and mourning over its desolations, near the tombs of the patriarchs to whom it was given in everlasting covenant,—and unbecoming its intrinsic sacredness, to engage in secular employments; and they are consequently supported almost entirely by the contributions sent to them from foreign countries. The heads of forty of the families were born in Hebron, while those of five have come to it from a distance. They have one school for boys and young men, which is kept in the synagogue, and which is attended by thirty pupils, who read the Scriptures and Talmudical books in Hebrew and Spanish. Only two or three of their body understand Arabic, the vernacular language of the country. They rent no fields; but one or two of them have small gardens. They purchase grapes from the vale of Eshcol in their season, which are remarkably good, like those which the spies carried to Moses, and make wine of them in considerable quantities. They are much straitened for room in the quarter which they occupy, being huddled together in the few houses which they possess; and

to all of which there is a common door. Money is taken from them by the Muhammadans on every kind of pretence; and, in various ways, they suffer oppression. Entire freedom of worship, however, is now accorded to them; and they are left to manage their own internal affairs without interference from any other quarter. The Arab governor of Hebron favours them from avarice; and, on the whole, they are satisfied with his kindness. They are now very seldom annoyed on the streets. Besides themselves, there are a few families of the Ashkenazim, or German Jews, settled in Hebron; but there are no Karaim, or Caraites.

These Jews were greatly interested in the accounts which we gave them of our journey through the Great Desert, and of our visit to Mount Sinai and the land of Edom. They looked at our drawings with seeming delight; and they kissed the specimens of rock from Jebel Músá and other places which we had it in our power to submit to their inspection. When we turned up the prophecies respecting Idumea, to direct their attention to their striking fulfilment, they showed that they had very little acquaintance with these and similar portions of the divine word. This is the more remarkable, that they commit the books of Moses and some of the Psalms almost to memory. The reason is obvious. Conversancy with the prophetical books is calculated to disturb their disbelief of the past advent of Him whose goings forth are from of old from everlasting, and of the spiritual nature of that kingdom, which, though exalted on high, he is now establishing in this world of sin and misery. I gave them copies of the Arabic translation of the Church of Scotland's address to the Jews throughout the world, a document which they most willingly received.

At dinner we were served to day as yesterday both by the men and women of the family in which we were residing; and certainly our experience would not warrant us to accede to

the truth of the Hebrew proverb,[1] הָאִשָּׁה צָרָה עֵינָהּ בְּאוֹרְחִים יוֹתֵר מִן הָאִישׁ.—"The eye of the wife is more contracted towards her guests than that of her husband." We were greatly pleased to observe the kindness and respect with which the women, old and young, were treated by their male relatives. I was scarcely prepared to witness the consideration and kindness which were shown to them; but it is pleasant to observe that even the cold blasts of Rabbinism cannot stop the warm flow of the milk of human kindness, or destroy the lessons of divine wisdom about the treatment of her who is an help-meet for man, which are conveyed by the holy writings, with which the Jews are familiar, from their earliest days.[2]

21st March.—To-day we visited the synagogues both of the Sephardim and Ashkenazim. They are both very small and humble erections. That of the Sephardim is a plain room, of about forty-five feet by eighteen, with a vaulted roof, and a few fixed benches. Above the door is an inscription characterizing it as מקום מנוחה ובית זבול, "a place of rest and habitation," and also setting forth among other things, "that this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." Above the Heikal (הֵיכַל) or shrine—a press, with two divisions, at one of the ends of the room, covered with a screen—there are intimations that it

[1] Bava metzia, fol. 87, col. I., in Buxtorf. Florileg. Hebraic., p. 214.

[2] Perhaps the most affecting instance of the degradation of woman by Rabbinism, is brought to our notice in the regular Morning Service of the Sephardim. The man in the course of his devotions is taught to say בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם שֶׁלֹּא עָשָׂנִי אִשָּׁה. "Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God, King of the universe, *who hath not made me a woman*," while the poor woman is instructed to say בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם שֶׁעָשָׂנִי כִּרְצוֹנוֹ. "Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God, King of the universe, who hath *made me according to his will*."—Liturgy of the Sephardim, near the beginning. The Rabbinical estimate of the character and position of woman may be very distinctly learned from the Florilegium Hebraicum of Buxtorf, under the articles of Liberi, Filii, Filiæ, Uxor, and Mulier.

contains the law that was given by Moses to the children of Israel, and some passages of Scripture, such as "Lift up your heads, ye gates, and be lifted up ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in." Over the dome, surmounting the reading-desk, a small wooden platform, nine feet long, with steps running up to it—there are the sentences, "Who can stand before the King, the King of kings;" "And he was afraid, and said, How terrible is this place," and so forth, and also the 130th Psalm. These inscriptions, and others beside them, are tolerably appropriate; but a more remarkable one remains to be noticed. It is in manuscript, and pasted on a board, and refers to the liberal and philanthropic Jewish Knight (now Baronet) of London, and runs in the following strain:—"Let him who blessed our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and Aaron, David and Solomon, bless, keep, preserve, and strengthen Sir Moses Montefiore and his dame Judith Montefiore. May they be blessed with the holy blessing from God, with length of days, and every other blessing. We ask this through the merits of thy holy law, through the merits of the fathers, through the merits of the mothers, through the merits of all the holy men and teachers, through the merits of Jesse, the father of David, of Abner the son of Ner, of Othniel the son of Kenaz, who are our constant protectors." This impetration by the Jews, for the sake of human merit, has more than once formed a suitable missionary text.[1] It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that on the return of Sir Moses to England, the Jews prepared a form of thanks-

[1] When Mr. Ewald, of the Episcopal mission at Jerusalem, objected to the prayer, on the ground of its pleading the merits of the saints, the Jews said to him, "When Israel made the golden calf, Moses prayed to God to remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." He very properly said to them in reply, "Moses did not *plead the merits* of the fathers, but reminded God of the oath he had sworn to give to the posterity of Abraham this land for a possession."—Journal of Missionary Labours, p. 150.

giving for the success of his mission to the East, in which they excluded all such pleas for the divine favour as that which is here urged.

At our request, the Jews showed us the contents of the Heikal. The manuscripts of the law are pretty numerous, and they are very neatly written in the style called by the Jews, the *Bábelí*, or Babylonian, which is used by the copyists at Baghdád to the present day. They are fastened at the ends to rollers placed in small cylindrical cases, which are elevated during divine service, and carried to the reading-desk.[1]

We found the school to which I have already referred, met in the synagogue. The pupils, in order to recommend themselves to our notice, threatened to rend the roof by their vociferous readings. Some of the boys, who were busy with their books, appeared remarkably healthy and beautiful.

There are two synagogues of the Ashkenazim, which are both extremely small. On the wall of the most public of them, there is, above the Heikal, an ornamental crown with the first words of the ten commandments written below it, in the manner following:

[1] Dr. Robinson will excuse me for noticing his reference to these documents. "The manuscripts of the *Old Testament* are kept in two cupboards or presses on one side. Like *all Hebrew manuscripts, they are written upon long rolls of parchment*, at each end of which a rod is fastened, so that they may be rolled backwards or forwards as a person reads . . . The rolls are read as they stand in the cases, *without being taken from the cupboard*."—Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 447, 448. There are here *three* rather important mistakes. The manuscripts on the rolls are those of the Torah, or Law, and sometimes of the Megilloth, and not of the whole of the Old Testament. All Hebrew manuscripts are not written on long rolls; but those of the Old Testament, many of which I have examined, are generally written on parchment folded together, and often bound like our books. The reading of the rolls sometimes commences in the Heikal; but according to the order of the Jewish service, which I have frequently witnessed, they are taken out from the Heikal, and carried with rejoicing to the reading-desk, where they are principally used. The Jewish liturgy gives particular information on this latter point.

| | |
|---|---|
| אנכי יה | לא תרצח |
| לא יהיה | לא תנאף |
| לא תשא | לא תגנב |
| זכור את | לא תענה |
| כבד את | לא תחמד |

The division of the commandments here, will be noticed. What is sometimes called the Preface, stands on a separate line, though it is evidently in itself not a distinct precept. The first and second commandments are conjoined, as by the Romish Church; but the tenth is not divided, as by that communion.

At this place we found the chief rabbi of the Ashkenazim, the very *beau idéal* of a Jew in his countenance, but arrayed in very fantastic habiliments, partly oriental and partly occidental, like those of most of his sect, who do not in general follow the example in the article of dress of the Sephardim, who adopt, as far as possible, the eastern fashion. He wore a brown beaver hat with an immense brim, and a garment, somewhat in the form of a dressing-gown. He professed entire ignorance of the Sephardim of Hebron; but he told us that the Ashkenazim, some fifty or sixty in number, were principally from Poland and Russia. The great object, he said, they have in view in coming to the Holy Land, is that they may die there. Not a single one of them can read or understand Arabic, the language of the country, though two or three of them can repeat a few colloquial sentences, which they have learned from intercourse with the people. They have no regular school, but the children, nevertheless, are kept at reading by the different rabbis, who give them a lesson according to their convenience.

From this synagogue we went to the house of the chief rabbi of the Sephardim, to return the call he had made

upon us, and acknowledge the kindness we had received at his hands. According to the Turkish fashion, he offered us coffee, pipes, and lemonade. He proved remarkably affable and cheerful. What interested us most in his house was his library. At our request, he agreed to furnish us with a catalogue of all his books; and he ordered his clerks instantly to prepare it, so that we might get possession of it before we left Hebron. This curious document I give in my second volume. The Hebrew scholar will form his judgment from it of the mental and spiritual provender of the rabbis in their own land. To the general reader it will not be very intelligible, as the titles of Jewish works are generally almost altogether figurative, and cast little or no light upon their contents.

From the rabbi's house we went to the glass manufactories for which Hebron is celebrated in the East. The workmen, who are all Muhammadans, were very civil, and showed us the different processes of the art, in blowing and moulding, which agree with those of the simpler kind which are practised in Europe. The articles which they were producing, consisted chiefly of phials, bottles, bangles, and tumblers. The glass, which appeared to be mostly of the same quality, was scarcely transparent, except in its most fragile forms. It is sold in almost every town of Syria, and part of it is exported to Egypt. It does not now meet, however, with a very ready market in Aleppo and Damascus, which at present are, to a considerable extent, supplied from Bohemia viâ Trieste.

Our walks to-day extended to the highest hill in the neighbourhood of Hebron, which lies to the south-east of the town. We did this in deference to a notice of the view from thence, in the work of Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne, which breathes a spirit more congenial with that of the traveller seeking Christian enjoyment in the Holy Land, than any other which

has been yet published.[1] The ascent, which leads through several cultivated fields and vineyards, is rather steep, as you pass upwards from terrace to terrace. The barley we found had only lately cut the sod, and the vines, which were mostly lying prone on the ground, were beginning to bud. We passed some patches of olive trees, and on the top of the hill we found a considerable quantity of bushes of the prickly oak. The view of the town below, embosomed in the hills, was very distinct. It is divided into four quarters, the Ḥárt el-Ḳadím, or Ancient Quarter, around the cave of Machpelah, the Ḥárt el-Ḳazáz, Quarter of the silk merchant, lying below it to the south, inhabited by the Jews; the Ḥárt esh-Sheikh, or Quarter of the Sheikh, the largest division, which is first entered from Jerusalem; and the Ḥárt el-Harbah, or Dense Quarter, now of small dimensions, lying contiguous to the last-mentioned, to the north. The houses have a respectable appearance, and in their flat roofs and swelling domes, they present a truly oriental aspect. The view from the east is very extensive, and the hills of Moab, and part of Idumea, sloping down towards the Dead Sea and the Wádí 'Arabah, are visible. As suggested by the travellers to whom I have last referred, it is probably that very view which Abraham would have, when he looked toward Sodom on the morning of its awful destruction by the hand of God. The Jews pointed out to us the direction of Carmel and Maon of Judah; but they have not such distinct views of the geography of these parts as can be got from Robinson and Smith's map. These observant travellers, from Máín, which lies about seven or eight miles to the S.S.E. of Judah, could enumerate no fewer than *nine* places in sight, still bearing apparently their ancient names—Máín, the Maon of Nabal; Semuà, which I have already noticed as probably corresponding

[1] Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839. Edinburgh, 1842.

with the ancient ESHTEMOH; 'Attír, with JATTIR; 'Anáb, with ANAB; Shaweikah, the diminutive form of Shaukah, with the SHOCOH of the mountains of Judah; Yaṭṭá, with JATTAH; and Karmal, with CARMEL.[1] The incidental geographical notices of the Bible accord most minutely with the localities of this country. "From the days of Jerome until the present century, not one of these names, except Carmel, occurs in history, or has been known as still in existence;" yet still they remain with the names which they bore in the days of Joshua. Though this, in the judgment of many, is a plain matter of fact, it is extremely interesting.[2]

On our return from this expedition, we were again waited upon by the governor of Hebron, with whom we arranged for the means of our conveyance to Jerusalem, to which place we intended to set out on the morrow. It was amusing to see the anxiety which he displayed that we should escape quarantine on our entrance into the holy city. Some of his people asked books from us, such as we had already distributed in the town; and we had much pleasure in meeting their demands. The Jews, too, made successful applications to us for copies of the Scriptures and other publications. We had a good deal of conversation with them on the identification of the different animals which are mentioned in Scripture. They were much interested in examining with us the renderings of their names in the copy of Rabbi Sáadi Gaon's Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, which we had brought from Egypt. They expressed a great wish to have it in a printed form. It would greatly aid them in the study of Arabic, should they be inclined to acquire that copious and powerful language, so much allied to that of their fathers.

[1] Biblical Res. vol. ii. pp. 194, 195.

[2] Dr. Robinson's remark requires qualification, perhaps, as far as some of the books of Jewish pilgrimage are concerned. See with regard to JATTIR and SOCOH, for example, Dr. Zunz on the Geography of Palestine, in Asher's Benjamin, vol. ii. p. 442.

22d March.—Our Jewish friends evinced much regret when we left them this morning. We got in motion about ten o'clock, mounted on ponies with high saddles and shovel-like stirrups, and having camels for our luggage. We looked forward with much interest to our journey for the day, which we intended should extend as far as Bethlehem; and we were not disappointed. We proceeded, in the first instance, up the valley which lies to the north-west of Hebron, and which is probably rightly supposed to be that of Eshcol, mentioned in the Scriptures. Beautiful fields and gardens of vines, olives, pomegranates, and figs, lay on each side of our path. From the vineyards, grapes of the largest size and finest quality, such as the spies may be supposed to have taken to the Israelites, are at present procurable. The valley extends altogether about a couple of miles. On leaving it, the road assumes the character of roughness and crookedness, which it retains to Bethlehem. Dr. Robinson, whose book we here used as a guide, says, "wheels certainly never passed here;"[1] but this is a position which our observation did not permit us to assume; as we thought that in several places we observed the rock cut, as if to afford a regular path for such carriages as would be used by the ancient Jews.

On emerging from the valley of Eshcol, we came upon some heaps and remains of walls, called Kharbet el-Naṣárah, or a Christian ruin. A little in advance of them, to the right hand, on a road which, as mentioned by Robinson, here branches off to Tekúà, the ancient TEKOAH, we came to other ruins a great deal more striking, and known by the name of er-Rámah. The Jewish pilgrims designate them

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 317. The opinion which we formed of this matter agrees with that of Mr. Ewald, the Jewish missionary at Jerusalem: "We did, in fact," he says, "perceive vestiges of an ancient carriage road all along, from Jerusalem to Hebron." Missionary Labours, p. 145.

the "House of Abraham;" and it is probable that they mark the spot pointed out by ancient tradition as that where Abraham rested under the terebinth of Mamre; and may be the remains of the basilica erected at the traditionary spot by the Emperor Constantine. If this account be correct, the tradition about the Sindián, or oak, in what is called the vale of Mamre, nearer Hebron below, must lose much of its authority.[1] We staid at them a short time for their examination. The remains are extensive; and the best preserved of them, which appeared to us to be part of a church, are very ancient. We observed some two or three cisterns excavated in the rock. The place has evidently been one of some importance; and it is rather remarkable that there is no reference to it in history by the name which it now bears.[2]

[1] In Gen. xviii. 1, we find it said, in the English translation, that "the Lord appeared to him [Abraham] in the *plains* of Mamre." This is rendered, in the Arabic version of Rabbi Saadi Gaon, "the Lord appeared to him in the *oak* (بَلُّوط) Balút, of Mamre." The Syriac version has also *Baluta*. The Balút is the prickly oak so abundant in the Holy Land. Celsius (in Hierobotan. tom. p. 34, &c.) contends that the Hebrew אֵלוֹן like אֵלָה is the terebinth (terebinthus pistacia,) which is also common in the Holy Land; but Gesenius, (Thesaur. sub. voc.) shows that it means any durable tree, especially an oak. Jerome speaks of the tree of Abraham as existing up to the time of his infancy. The article of Eusebius, with the additions of Jerome, is the following:—"Drys, id est quercus Mambre, juxta Chebron, [quæ usque ad ætatem infantiæ meæ et Constantii regis imperium terebinthus monstrabatur pervetus, et annos magnitudine indicans,] sub qua habitavit Abraham. Miro autem cultu ab ethnicis habita est, [et veluti quodam insigni numine consecrata."]—De Sit. et Nom. Loc. sub voc. Drys.

[2] The best account of these ruins is in a paper by the Rev. Mr. Wolcott, of the American Mission, contained in the Bibliotheca Sacra, published in America. "The ruins lie on the south slope of a hill, with valleys on all sides except the west. The whole area covered cannot be less than ten acres. The principal foundations lie N. and E. of the large walls, and several of the stones are bevelled. The surface is strewed with the Mosaic tessery of ancient pavements. From the walls, there is a gradual ascent for about a quarter of a mile to the summit, which is covered with foundations, among which we noticed several fragments of columns. This point commands a fine view of the Mediterranean, through a gap in the hills in the N.W. On the top is a large cistern, excavated in the rock.

Our road in continuation lay pretty much to the N.N.E. It was evidently near the highest part of the great ridge, which runs from north to south, between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, and the Jordan, through the whole length of the land of Israel. The geological construction of the country through which we passed to-day is exceedingly simple. The rock has the same character throughout. It is not, as is commonly represented in our books of English travel, a compact limestone, but a species of indurated chalk, like that of the upper Jura formation, with few, but distinct separable organic remains. The cretaceous strata in some places cannot be very distinctly observed, owing partly to their depth, and the manner in which they are covered with soil and jungle; but, generally speaking, they are in these parts in a horizontal position, with terrace rising upon terrace, as is more distinctly marked further to the north. The Wádís crossing the road, or leading off from it to the right, go to the Dead Sea. The highest part of the ridge, to which I have referred, is to the left hand, and from it the Wádís, in more or less circuitous courses, wind down to the Mediterranean. It is principally the action of water upon the ridge in past ages, and not any particular direction of eruptive force, which has cut and insulated various parts of the ridge into distinct eminences or separate hills, and caused the undulations which the traveller does not fail to observe. The facings of the terraces, and many small patches of the country here and there, are completely bare, or covered with yellow lichens; and this circumstance, as well as the light colour of the soil in general, gives to the eye accustomed to the dark loam and luxurious fields of Europe, and the tropics, an aspect of barrenness which is not really its

We found but two other excavations, both small, which could have been cisterns; showing that the main supply of water was from wells or fountains."—Biblioth. Sac., vol. i. p. 45.

characteristic, as is evident from the numerous shrubs and dwarf trees, and bushes of the prickly oak, or Balut, and mountain juniper, with which large portions of it are covered. Culture is almost entirely abandoned; but a little farther to the east, on the Tekoa road, it is resorted to, to a considerable extent. The numerous ruins, however, on the heights and knolls, on each side of the road, mark the former populousness of the country.

We found, as we passed along, most of the different sites on Dr. Robinson's map, laid down as correctly as could be expected in any map formed more from approximations from the time of travel, and bearings, sometimes unconnected, taken by the compass, than from any regular survey which has yet been made of the country. We found also a considerable number which are not there laid down, and made digressions to a few of them on our ponies. It was much to be regretted that here we had no competent guide to give us information respecting them. The boys in charge of our animals did not know the names of many of the ruins which we pointed out to them.[1] Some of them, whose names we heard, evidently belong to places mentioned in the Scripture. Ḥalḥûl, about a mile in advance of er-Rámah, on a height to the right, where there are a mosk and ruins, has long been recognised as the HALHUL of Joshua xxv. 58. It is a place of Jewish pilgrimage, and it is considered as the burying-place of Gad the Seer.[2] The mosk is called Nabí Yúnas, "the Prophet Jonas." A little in advance of this place is Beit-Ainún, evidently the BETHANOTH of Joshua, mentioned as being in the same district with the preceding town.[3] There are remains here of a considerable building, with traces of walls

[1] Interesting particulars connected with many of these sites are mentioned by Mr. Wolcott in the valuable paper in the Bibliotheca Sacra, already referred to. They all go to show the former populousness of this part of the country.

[2] Cippi Hebraici, p. 32.

[3] Josh. xv. 59.

and foundations.[1] A little further to the north-west is the Ain ed-Dirwah, supposed by some to be the fountain at which the Ethiopian eunuch was baptized, though it does not occur on the direct road from Jerusalem to Gaza. There is a large well here, with stone troughs, at which cattle drink; and there are ruins in the neighbourhood. Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne think that this may possibly be the well of Sirah, at which Abner was refreshing himself when Joab's messengers found him, and treacherously brought him back to Hebron to be slain;[2] but no connexions of Sirah are mentioned in Scripture, to enable us to fix its locality. There is a slight resemblance to the name in the village Sâir, lying to the east of Dirwah. Marks of quarrying are visible on the rocks adjacent to ed-Dirwah. A ruined tower, on an eminence in the neighbourhood, has been found by Mr. Wolcott to be denominated Beit-Sur. It marks the site of BETH-ZUR of Scripture.[3] That

[1] "Within the first foundations which we reached in Beit 'Ainûn, were two small prostrate columns with their capitals; and near by were a fountain, now languid, and the walls of a large reservoir. The ruins lie mainly on the lower part of the southern slope of a hill or promontory, about half a mile long, and half as broad. The site is evidently ancient, and many of the stones are bevelled. The principal ruin is a building, which the sheikh called a church; but which I could not make out. It is eighty-three feet long from N. to S., and seventy-two feet broad; but the ends of broken columns built into the walls, and other circumstances, show that this is not the original structure. The stones in these walls, both those which are bevelled and those which are hewn smooth, seem older than any that I afterwards saw in Kurmul, and are more disintegrated; but the columns are less so, and are smaller than those in that place. Some of the stones are of the same kind with the larger foundations in er-Râmah, and much worn. The ruins of the town lie on the gentle slope north of this edifice; and the ground is so covered that one can tread on nothing else. The walls were solidly built; and their foundations remain, preserving the streets and the forms of the dwellings entire, so that one could still draw a very complete plan of the place. The largest stones I saw were six feet long and three broad, and were bevelled. There were three or four cisterns in the upper part; but the main reliance must have been upon the fountain. The name of this place suggests the Bethanoth of Joshua."—Mr. Wolcott in Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 58.

[2] Narrative of a Mission to the Jews, p. 238. Sirah is mentioned only in 2 Sam. iii. 26.

[3] Josh. xv. 58.

Beth-Zur was at the reputed site of the baptism of the eunuch, appears from the Bourdeaux pilgrim, A.D. 330.[1] The village of Sefír, mentioned by Irby and Mangles, and by Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne, is in this neighbourhood to the right, but it did not attract our attention. It lies close on a valley below. The last mentioned gentlemen ask, "Can this be a remnant of Kirjath-Sepher, the city smitten by Othniel, when he gained Achsah, Caleb's daughter?" This question there can be little difficulty in answering in the *negative*, for "Kirjath-Sepher," or "Kirjath-Sannah, which is Debir," is mentioned in Joshua, not as being in the Halhul district, but in the "mountains" to the south of Hebron,[2] along with various towns, which, we have already seen, have been there distinctly identified. On our way from Dhahariyah to Hebron some springs, with beautiful culture around them, attracted our attention, and we conjectured that they might be the upper and nether springs sought by Caleb's daughter; but we heard of the name of no site corresponding with the three designations of the ancient "city of learning." About a mile in advance of Ain ed-Dirwah is the village Kúfin or Kufíl, which Dr. Robinson has accidentally displaced, substituting for it the intrusive name of Abu Fíd, which here has no existence.[3] Beit-Ummar is on a height to the left. It is apparently a considerable village. Beit Hajar, lying nearly opposite to it to the left, is set down in Dr. Robinson's map as Beit Fejjâr. North of this village is Bereikút, the BERACHAH of 2 Chron. xx. 26; and in a position which was not observed by us, is Jidúr, the GEDOR of Joshua. Thus, on the way from Hebron to Bethlehem, we see, and hear of, a considerable number of villages mentioned in holy writ. At least four of these villages are thus given in juxtaposition in Joshua, "HALHUL, BETH-ZUR, and GEDOR, and

[1] Itinerar. Hierosol. Wesselling, p. 599.

[2] See Josh. xv. 15, 48, 49.

[3] Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 44.

Maarath, and BETH-ANOTH, and Eltekon."[1] The last-mentioned place is perhaps that afterwards known by the name of TEKOA, the modern Tekûà, which we also passed to the right.

At el-Burak, or the "Pools" of Solomon, we halted for a time sufficient to enable us to take a general view of them. They have been frequently described with great minuteness and accuracy. They are three in number, and of a quadrangular figure, but different in size, and lying nearly in a row, one above another.[2] They are partly built on the sides with regular hewn stones, and partly hewn out of the solid rock, the workmanship having undoubtedly the appearance of great antiquity. We have frequently larger and more elaborate tanks in India; but these may be safely characterized nevertheless as works of considerable magnitude, and worthy of the renowned sovereign whose name they now bear, though they are not directly mentioned in Scripture. They are not reservoirs such as we see frequently in the east,

[1] Josh. xv. 58, 59.

[2] Dr. Robinson gives the following measurements of their size and relative position.

"I.—LOWER POOL.

"Length, 582 feet. Breadth, { E end, 207 feet. / W. end, 148 „

Depth at E. end, 50 feet;—of which 6 feet water.
Direction of N. side, N. 45° W.

"II.—MIDDLE POOL.

"Distance above Lower Pool, 248 feet.

Length, 423 feet. Breadth, { E. end, 250 feet. / W. end, 160 „

Depth at E. end, 39 feet;—of which 14 feet water.
Direction of S. side, W.N.W.

"III.—UPPER POOL.

"Distance from Middle Pool, 160 feet.

Length, 380 feet. Breadth, { E. end, 236 feet. / W. end, 229 „

Depth at E. end, 25 feet;—of which 15 feet water.
Direction of N. side, N. 65° W."—Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 165.

for the accommodation merely of rain-water; neither are they excavations for retaining the water originating in springs in their own enclosure. They are fed from fountains in their neighbourhood, and are obviously designed to regulate the supply of the indispensable element of water, which of old, was conducted to Jerusalem by way of Bethlehem. The principal fountain is near the Kaṣr el-Burak, a Saracenic or Turkish castle, or rather khán, or caravanserai, now principally used for the accommodation of cattle and some poor families, about a hundred and forty paces distant from them. "This," says Maundrell, whose lively and accurate work we here first found to be of any practical use to us on our journey, "the Friars will have to be that *Sealed Fountain*, to which the holy Spouse is compared, Cant. iv. 12. And, in confirmation of this opinion, they pretend a tradition, that King Solomon shut up these springs and kept the door of them sealed with his signet; to the end that he might preserve the waters for his own drinking, in their natural freshness and purity. Nor was it difficult thus to secure them, they rising under ground, and having no avenue to them but by a little hole like to the mouth of a narrow well. Through this hole you descend directly down, but not without some difficulty, for about four yards; and then arrive in a vaulted room, fifteen paces long, and eight broad. Joining to this is another room of the same fashion, but somewhat less. Both these rooms are covered with handsome stone arches, very ancient, and perhaps the work of Solomon himself. You find here four places at which the water rises. From those separate sources it is conveyed, by little rivulets, into a kind of basin, and from thence it is carried by a large subterraneous passage down into the Pools."[1]

[1] Maundrell's Travels, pp. 88, 89.

In the Jewish itineraries, this place is mentioned as the fountain of ETHAM.[1] It is said in the Talmud that Etham was a fountain in the land of Israel at which the high-priest washed himself on the day of atonement.[2] The allusion may be to the water conveyed from the pools to the temple. It is of this locality, most probably, that Josephus says, "There was a certain place, about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham; very pleasant is it in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did Solomon use to go out in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot."[3] In 2 Chronicles xi. 6, Rehoboam is represented as fortifying Bethlehem, ETAM, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur, and other cities; and Etham, from the towns with which it is here associated, was probably in this neighbourhood.[4] There are gardens and cultivated fields, both above and below the pools; and altogether this would form a very pleasant retreat from Jerusalem.

From el-Burak we hastened to Bethlehem by the upper road, going to the N.E., and not by that which leads along the aqueduct from the upper pools; which we traced, however, for a few minutes. The distance may be about two miles and a half. We were deeply affected and interested, when, after passing over a rough and rugged plot, little corresponding with our western ideas of Bethlehem's plains, we came in sight of the Town of David, and of David's Lord. "Great is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh, seen of angels," at this very place,—was the engrossing theme of our conversation, or rather the overpowering theme of our meditation, as we drew near to the village. It stands upon an eminence, surrounded by small valleys or depressions,

[1] Cippi Hebraici, p. 32.
[2] Yoma, Schabb. Bechor.
[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. 7. 3.
[4] See Relandi Palestin. p. 558.—Mr. Williams thinks that "the name of this interesting locality has been perpetuated among the natives unto this day." The Wádí Urtas of Robinson, he makes Wádí Etân.—Holy City, p. 413.

devoted to the culture of the olive and vine ; and has a massive and imposing appearance at a little distance. When we entered it, we found its principal street filled with a most healthy-looking population of old and young persons, many of whom gave us a cordial welcome as we passed along. The ecclesiastical buildings crown its eastern slopes, a small platform intervening between them and the village. We went to the Franciscan convent, to seek accommodation. The superior of the monks said he was afraid to admit us, as quarantine had been lately re-established at Jerusalem. "We have performed quarantine," we said to him in Latin, "for we have been exactly forty days in the great wilderness." He smiled, and opened the low gate, by which we made our entrance. Comfortable apartments were provided for us, and we felt thankful for all the mercies of the day.

Thursday, 23d March.—We devoted the morning principally to an inspection of the ecclesiastical buildings of Bethlehem and their subterraneous appendages, and to the survey of Bethlehem from the roof of the Greek convent, which is the highest of the ecclesiastical edifices, and from which, consequently, the best view of the surrounding country is to be obtained.

The northern part of the buildings forms the Latin convent, which, like all the others of the Terra Santa establishment properly so called, is under the care of the Franciscans, or Friars Minorites of the Observance. One of the monks of this establishment, and a Greek monk of St. Basil, gave us their services as guides. After we were shown through the different apartments of the Latin convent, and had inspected a small school taught by the monks, we were conducted into the church of St. Mary of Bethlehem, or the Church of the Nativity, as it is commonly called, which was originally built by Helena, the mother of Constantine. It is at present under the care of the Greeks, who, with the

permission of the new Páshá Ferik of Jerusalem, acting under the orders of the Grand Turk, were carrying on some repairs, which had lately been the cause of high disputes between them and the Romanists, who were as ambitious as themselves of the honour of supporting this edifice. It is a place of considerable grandeur, though its architectural proportions are certainly not very striking. In the body of the church there are double rows of marble Corinthian pillars on each side, amounting altogether to forty columns. The floor is of the same material. The roof is of a moderate height. Part of it, and also the walls, are adorned by various faint pictures and representations in Mosaic, which have the appearance of great antiquity. The chancel is immediately over what is called the "Cave of the Nativity;" which, in the eyes of the monks, possesses far more interest than all Bethlehem besides.[1] The descent to the cave is by a flight of steps. When we entered this, the *sanctum sanctorum*, we found a band of Armenian priests, with one or two fellow-worshippers, saying mass. Though the Armenians, in their turn, have the use of the grotto, as well as the Greeks and Romanists, our guides did not think it right that we should interrupt our explorations on their account; but we gave them no annoyance. The cave is ornamented with pictures and marble facings, and illuminated by several lamps. It is not very large, and the smoke of the lights, and the profuse burning of incense during the masses, with the want of circulation of air, render it a not very comfortable place of resort. Below the "altar of the nativity," in the east of the grotto, there is the representation of a star, with the inscription, HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESUS CHRISTUS NATUS EST.

[1] Quaresmius, the great master of the legendary topography of the Holy Land, speaking of the pilgrimage to Bethlehem, says, "Quoniam non propter eam præcipue, sed propter sacrum antrum nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi hoc iter assumpserunt."—Elucidat. Ter. Sanct. tom. ii. p. 622.

How simple the announcement, and yet how overwhelming, if true, directing our attention, as it does, to an event which is unparalleled in the annals of the universe! I confess, that its effect upon us, as far as the exact *spot* where it is found is concerned, was nearly completely lost by our entire persuasion that the Saviour was *not* born in a subterraneous cavern like this, difficult of access to cattle, but in an approachable stable attached to the khán, or inn, in which the virgin-mother could not be accommodated. The manifest discrepancy of even the oldest traditions with the sacred text in this case, is most instructive, and shows to us that the early Christians, in the true spirit of our holy faith, were more concerned with the great events which they were called to contemplate, than with the localities, however interesting in their associations, at which these events were transacted. Justin Martyr, Eusebius,[1] Jerome, Origen, Socrates, and others,[2] who mention a cave as the birth-place of Christ, though they lived near the era of redemption, must have shown a greater deference to the incipient credulity and superstition of their times, which seem, wherever practicable, to enshrine themselves in grottos, than to a fair interpretation of the plain narrative of the evangelists.[3] More con-

[1] Euseb. de Vit. Constant., iii. 41.

[2] Vid. Elucidat. Ter. Sanct. tom. ii. p. 625, *et seq.*

[3] The following remarks of Maundrell, one of the most sensible and accurate travellers in the Holy Land, are worthy of attention in connexion with this subject. "I cannot forbear to mention in this place an observation which is very obvious to all that visit the Holy Land, viz., that almost all Passages and Histories related in the Gospel are represented by them that undertake to show where every thing was done, as having been done most of them, in Grottos; and that, even in such cases, where the condition and the circumstances of the actions themselves seem to require places of another nature. Thus, if you would see the place where St. Anne was delivered of the Blessed Virgin, you are carried to a Grotto; if the place of the Annunciation, it is also a Grotto; if the place where the Blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth; if that of the Baptist's, or that of our Blessed Saviour's Nativity; if that of the Agony; or that of St. Peter's Repentance; or that where the Apostles made the Creed; or this of the Transfiguration; all these places are

siderate were Cyprian, Nicephorus, and others, who taught that the birth of Christ occurred in a house or erected fabric. The "Place of the Manger," now faced and raised with marble, which was pointed out to us, must be discarded or admitted, according to the judgment formed about the spot of the birth. The "Altar of the Magi" adjoining, of itself, casts doubt on the propriety of the whole professed or pretended identification. The sacred writer says, "When they were come into the *house*, they saw the young child, with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him."[1]

Adjoining the cave of the nativity, we were shown "the chapel and sepulchre of the Innocents" slain by order of Herod, and a preserved tongue, set forth as a relic of one of the infants; the study of Jerome, who passed many years of his life at Bethlehem; the sepulchre which contained his body before its alleged translation to Rome; the sepulchre of his friend, the celebrated Roman lady, St. Paula, who is said to have built four monasteries at Bethlehem,—including that now occupied by the Romanists,—and of her daughter Eustochius; and the sepulchre of the abbot Eusebius of Cremona, the disciple of Jerome, whom some have confounded with the ecclesiastical historian. The church, or rather chapel, of St. Catherine, is to the left of the altar of the Church of St. Mary above. We did not visit the grotto of the virgin, though it is near the convent.[2]

also Grottos. And, in a word, wherever you go, you find almost every thing is represented as done under ground. Certainly Grottos were anciently held in great esteem; or else they could never have been assigned, in spite of all probability, for the places in which were done so many various actions. Perhaps it was the Hermits' way of living in Grottos from the fifth or sixth century downward, that has brought them ever since to be in so great reputation."—Maundrell's Travels, p. 114.

[1] Matt. ii. 11.

[2] "It is within thirty or forty yards of the Convent; and is reverenced upon the account of a tradition that the Blessed Virgin here hid herself and her divine babe from the fury of Herod, for some time before their departure into Egypt. The

The Greek convent forms the south-eastern part of the buildings. We much enjoyed the view of the country from its roof, and we spent a considerable time in surveying the interesting panorama. The general character of the district of Bethlehem is well hit off by Quaresmius. "Regio Bethlehemitica abundat campis, vineis, collibus, vallibus, olivetis, ficubus; vinoque praesertim, et frumento stabilita est."[1] The territories of the tribe of Judah, through most of which we have now passed, taking them as a whole, are more fitted for pasture and the culture of the tree, than raising grain; and this is in entire accordance with the delineation of them by the dying Jacob, who, with the eye of a seer, saw Judah binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; washing his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes, and with his eyes red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.[2] The village of Bethlehem, as I have already mentioned, stands upon a height, from which there is a pretty steep slope on both the north and southern sides, particularly the former, to two Wádís or gorges which form its boundaries. On the flanks of these Wádís are the principal gardens, vineyards, and plantations of olives and figs. They unite a little to the east of the town, and form what is called the Wádí et-Táámarah, from the village of Beit Táámr in the neighbourhood. The village of Bethlehem itself slopes a little to the east. The nearly

Grot is hollowed into a chalky-rock: But this whiteness they will have to be not natural, but to have been occasioned by some miraculous drops of the Blessed Virgin's milk, which fell from her breast while she was suckling the Holy Infant. And so much are they possessed with this opinion, that they believe the chalk of this Grotto has a miraculous virtue for encreasing women's milk. And I was assured from[2] many hands, that it is very frequently taken by the women hereabouts, as well Turks and Arabs, as Christians, for that purpose, and that with very good effect; which perhaps may be true enough, it being well known how much fancy is wont to do in things of this nature."—Maundrell's Travels, p. 91.

[1] Elucidat. Ter. Sanct. ii. p. 620.

[2] Gen. xlix. 11, 12.

level plain of no great length, in which the monks say the annunciation of the birth of Christ took place, lies to the east of the town. It is beyond the rocky shelvings on which Bethlehem stands, and when we saw it, it was sown, like several fields in the neighbourhood, with barley. A nunnery, said to have been built by St. Paula, formerly stood on it, but it is now destroyed. It was, doubtless, in some field in this neighbourhood, that Ruth followed the reapers of her uncle Boaz. The neighbouring village of Beit Sáḥûr is said to be that in which the shepherds lived. It is now inhabited principally, or solely, by Christians. The view in this direction eastward is very extensive. It comprehends the mountains of Ammon and Moab, beyond the Dead Sea and the Jordan. The monks pointed out to us, as they said, the position of Kerak or KIR-MOAB, which, they told us, is now, as it has long been, the seat of the see of Petra, lying nearly directly south-east. The ridge east of the Dead Sea, appeared to have much the same general altitude, though one or two higher elevations were here and there discernible. Of the deep basin of the Dead Sea we had a good view; and we even thought that we saw the surface of the waters, till, on using our telescope, we found that we had been labouring under an ocular illusion, arising from their exhalations, and the consequent haziness of the atmosphere. The country intervening between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea is nearly entirely desert, and its cretaceous strata and debris had much the appearance of what we had witnessed in the great wilderness. Jebel el-Fareidís or the Frank mountain, which we had before noticed on the way from Hebron, lying to the south-east of us, according to the compass, at the distance of an hour and a-quarter, was a conspicuous height. It is much in the form of a truncated cone; and rises about three or four hundred feet from its base. Pococke supposes it to be the

Bethhaccerem of Scripture;[1] and Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne very appropriately remark, that if this supposition be correct, "a more suitable place for a signal of fire could not be imagined." Notwithstanding the considerations submitted by Dr. Robinson[2] to the contrary, I am strongly inclined to think that the supposition is correct. In Jeremiah vi. 1, Bethhaccerem is mentioned in connexion with Tekoa, "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and set up a sign of fire in Bethhaccerem." Jerome, when commenting on this passage, informs us, that Bethhaccerem lay on a height between Jerusalem and Tekoa, which agrees with the position of Fareidís. Bethhaccerem means the "house of the vineyard;" and there is no place more suitable for raising vines between Tekoa and Jerusalem, than the neighbourhood of Fareidís, "the little paradise," the lower sides of which bear marks of ancient cultivation, and which is contiguous to the verdant Wádí Artás. There are not only remains of a fortification on the summit of Fareidís, but there are ruins on both its northern and southern sides. The hill has been supposed, I think with good reason, to be that on which Herod made the remarkable erection called after his own name, the Herodium. "This citadel," says Josephus, "was distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a straight ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure

[1] Pococke's Description of the East in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. x. p. 438.

[2] Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews, p. 247.

as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts and on account of the water which is brought thither a great way off, and at vast expense, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle."[1] Dr. Robinson who visited the spot, says, "The situation, the mountain, the round towers, the large reservoir of water, and the city below, correspond very strikingly to the present state of the Frank mountain."[2] Tekoa, mentioned in Scripture, in connexion with Bethhaccerem, was pointed out to us a little to the S.W. of Jebel Fareidís. There is a direct road to it from Bethlehem. It is about the same distance from Bethlehem as Bethlehem is from Jerusalem. A visit to it used to form a part of the Christian pilgrimage.[3] Jerusalem is not visible to the north of Bethlehem, on account of the intervening heights. A good many places are seen to the west, including Beitjálá,

[1] Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. cap. ix. 4. I was at first inclined to think it probable, that the Bethzacharia of the Maccabees and Josephus,—not very different in sound from the Bethacara of the Vulgate, and Bethacarma of Jerome,—was probably none other than the Bethhaccerem of Scripture. Bethzacharia was seventy stadia from Beth-zur, which is exactly the distance of ed-Dirwah from Fareidís. Compare 1 Maccab. vi. 31, &c., and Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xii. cap. 8. 4.; and Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 4. To this, however, it may be objected, that Josephus himself, when speaking of the site of the Herodium,—which seems to agree with Jebel Fareidís,—does not identify it with his own Bethzacharia.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 173. Under the 7th May, Irby and Mangles say, "At eight this morning we proceeded for 'Solomon's Pools,' and thence down the valley towards the mountain of the Franks, which we ascended; we found it hollow on the top, with walls round it, and four towers, all much in ruins. This post is said to have been maintained by the Franks, forty years after the fall of Jerusalem; though the place is too small ever to have contained even half the number of men which would have been requisite to make any stand in such a country; and the ruins, though they may be those of a place once defended by Franks, appear to have had an earlier origin, as the architecture seems to be Roman."—Travels, p. 340.

[3] Quaresmius, Eluc. Ter. Sanct. tom. ii. p. 686.

now, as of old, inhabited entirely by Christians. They are in some respects confederated with those of Bethlehem and Beit Sáḥúr, and are noted for their independence, bordering on turbulence. They would seem to be on better terms with one another than their religious teachers.

The inhabitants of Bethlehem, our monkish guides told us, amount to about two thousand. The majority of them, said the Roman monk, are *Catholics*, and the minority *Schismatics*. The majority, said his Greek rival, are *Christians*, and the minority *Papists*.[1] The few Armenians of the place are confined to the convent; and the Coptic and Syrian pilgrims are accommodated through their hospitality, the creeds of the three monophysite Churches being generally the same. The people of Bethlehem, in addition to their agricultural pursuits, engage in the manufacture of various figures and trinkets, such as representations of the holy sepulchre, figures of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of the apostles, and of other saints, crucifixes, beads, rosaries, spoons, cups, and platters, with portions of Scripture inscribed upon them in Arabic letters. The materials out of which they manufacture these articles are mother-of-pearl from the Red Sea, the wood of the olive, agates and jaspers, and bituminous limestone from the rocks to the east of Bethlehem.

We took farewell of Bethlehem at this time at eleven o'clock, dismissing our horses, that we might have the luxury of walking alone to Jerusalem—distant a couple of hours—undisturbed by the noise of their keepers and our other attendants. We struck off from the village to the right, and found our path pass along a terrace, through some beautiful gardens. We here came in contact with the conduit coming from the pools of Solomon; and we observed

[1] The Greek Church reckons its adherents at Bethlehem at 280. See Appendix to Williams' Holy City, p. 501.

—what we afterwards more particularly noticed in other places—that the aqueduct rises and falls according to the level of the ground over which it passes, thus clearly showing that its constructors were acquainted with the hydrostatical principle which regulates the conveyance of water in pipes and tubes, and its rise in them to its original level, of the knowledge of which the Greeks and Romans seem to have availed themselves but little in the construction of their aqueducts. Ascending the height west of the aqueduct, we went in search of what is called the "Well of David," for the water of which it is supposed the pious king so anxiously longed, and of which he said, "Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, that is at the gate!" It is less than half a mile distant from the present village, and is in a rude enclosure, and consists of a large cistern with several small apertures. It bears marks about it of having been long in use; and its position seems perfectly to agree with the sacred narrative. David was at the cave of Adullam when he expressed his desire to partake of the water. The garrison of the Philistines was at Bethlehem. Their camp was farther to the north. David's valiant men, coming from the south—it may be from the grottos and labyrinth near Tekoa—broke through the soldiers of the garrison; and drawing water out of the well, they took it and brought it to David. It was probably not for the excellence of the water that David longed for it; and "it seems," to use the words of the sagacious Maundrell, "David's spirit had a farther aim."[1] None need insinuate an objection to this reservoir being the place referred to by David, as Dr. Robinson seems inclined to do, on the allegation that it is a mere *cistern*. The word used to express it in the original Hebrew is not עַיִן a *fountain*, but בּוֹר corres-

[1] Maundrell's Journey, p. 90.

ponding with the Arabic بُورٌ *bûrah*, a *pit* or *cistern*, which will exactly suit such a place as that which I now notice.[1]

At no great distance from the well of David, we came to the Ḳabbet Ráḥíl, or the tomb of Rachel. It is a small erection or mosk, covered by a dome, with an open apartment towards the east, and a small enclosure towards the west. At this time the latter was shut; but on my second visit I found it open, and entered the sanctum, as there was no person present to prevent me. It had been lately repaired. A raised longitudinal mound, in the form of the common Muhammadan tombs, covers the spot in which the remains of the wife of Israel are supposed to rest. Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans unite in identifying the place as that in which Rachel was buried. The Jews call it by the simple name of אִמֵּנוּ רָחֵל "our mother Rachel." They offer up their prayers at a hole in the wall, pleading the merits of their great progenitrix as one of the grounds of their acceptance before God. Its position well suits the narrative of Genesis. "They journeyed from Bethel; and there was but a little way to come to Ephrath," "and

[1] 1 Chron. xi. 18.—Dr. Robinson says, "Passing on towards Bethlehem, we met a mule laden with water, said to be from Bethlehem for the Armenian convent in Jerusalem. We took this at first as a confirmation of the excellence of the water longed for by David; but we were afterwards able to find no well in Bethlehem, and especially none 'by the gate,' except one connected with the aqueduct on the south. That to which the monks give the name of the well of David, is about half or three quarters of a mile N. by E. of Bethlehem, beyond the deep valley which the village overlooks; it is merely a deep and wide cistern or cavern, now dry, with three or four narrow openings cut in the rock."—Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 158. The distance of the well here last referred to from the present village of Bethlehem, I have stated above. It is on the same ridge, as it turns to the north, on which Bethlehem stands. The cistern was not dry when we visited it. Dr. Robinson does not say that he saw or examined it himself; but in his note he refers to various travellers for the confirmation of his statement. When Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne visited the cistern, a man had descended into it to clean it out.—Narrative of a Mission to the Jews, p. 248.

Rachel died and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem."[1] It is not to be wondered at that the original monument should not now remain. Her "pillar" was known in the days of Moses;[2] and it is not likely that the position would be forgotten by the Jews after their settlement in their own land. It is mentioned by Jerome and the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, in the fourth century, and has been noted by many subsequent travellers.[3] One difficulty, however, presented itself to us relative to the spot at which we here stood. It is commonly supposed to be within the boundaries of the tribe of Judah, while Rachel's tomb would appear to have been within those of Benjamin, "in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah," as mentioned in 1 Samuel x. 2. This difficulty requires us to do nothing more than to suppose that the boundary line of Benjamin, when it got to the north of Jerusalem, came along further to the south by the valley of Rephaim, and included this spot, which it might do in perfect consistency with the boundaries stated in Joshua.[4] Taking this view of the matter, what is there more natural than to suppose that the village of Beit-jálá, which is, in fact, nearer to the tomb of Rachel than even Bethlehem itself, to which Rachel was going, is none other than the ZELAH of Joshua and the ZELZAH[5] of Samuel? This idea occurred to me at Jerusalem, and was noticed at the time in my memoranda. I was afterwards gratified to find, that, without reference to the difficulty to which I have referred, it had also occurred to Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne.[6]

From the tomb of Rachel to the convent of saint Elias,

[1] Gen. xxxv. 16, 19. [2] 2 Ibid. v. 20.
[3] Itin. Wesselling, p. 518. Hieron. Epist. 86 ad Eustach. Epitaph. Paula. Opp. tom. iv. 2, p. 674, ed Mart. See Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 323.
[4] Josh. xviii. 11-28.
[5] 1 Sam. x. 2.
[6] Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry, p. 234.

Deir Már Elyás, there is a gentle ascent. As we were advancing to its summits, we began to call to remembrance some of the beautiful allusions of holy writ to the "city of the great King,"[1] the type of the spouse of Christ,[2] "the joy of the whole earth,"[3] and which for many ages was "full of stirs, a tumultuous city, a joyous city,"[4] and which in its glorious towers and palaces and bulwarks, was unto God himself "Gilead and the head of Lebanon."[5] In a moment JERUSALEM was before our view! We stood still in solemn silence, and again went forward, and stood still and gazed. Our feelings were so overpowering, that we could neither understand them nor give them expression. "I am strangely disappointed," at last said my companion; "yet there is something in the scene strangely affecting." In the language of Scripture,—partly applied by accommodation, and partly used, as by the inspired writers, as descriptive of the present desolations of the wondrous city, the only suitable response could be given,—"How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! how is she become as a widow!" "From the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed." "All that pass by clap their hands at thee; they hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?"[6] "Many nations shall pass by this city, and they shall say every man to his neighbour, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this great city? Then they shall answer, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord their God."[7] "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her

[1] Psalm xlviii. 2.
[2] Song vi. 4.
[3] Psalm xlii. 2.
[4] Isaiah xxii. 2.
[5] Jer. xxii. 6.
[6] See Lam. chap. i. and ii.
[7] Jer. xxii. 8.

chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."[1] "Yes," replied my friend, "Jerusalem was the most highly favoured, and the most guilty; and it is now the most signally punished city on the face of the globe." Ages have passed away since its glorious temple and palaces, and towers and residences, were overthrown; and it is not now that we have to expect to find in it anything approaching to its former magnificence. The beauty of its situation is all that we can hope to discern; and that beauty of situation,—in the eminence and slopes of the platform on which it stands, and in its natural defences on two of its sides,—still remains, though only a glimpse of it is got on the approach from Bethlehem. The southern wall, with a few domes and minarets overtopping it, and the mosks covering the sepulchres of David and the other kings of Judah on Mount Zion, were all that here appeared to our view.

We were now at the "well of the Magi," to the north of the convent of Elijah, where conjecture has fixed the place of the reappearance of the star to the three wise men from the east. Several damsels were there filling their earthen pitchers; and they gave us to drink of the cooling waters. We had on our right a low swelling ridge of rock, and on our left the nearly level plain of Rephaim, almost all under grain cultivation,—the crop, however, owing to the imperfect agriculture, being of an indifferent character. The gentle slope of this valley seemed to be to the west. Our road was nearly on the exact line on which the waters which, in the rainy season, take their course to the Mediterranean, and those which go to the Dead Sea, separate from one another. As we advanced, our view of Mount Zion greatly improved; and its steep slopes to the south reminded us of its impregnableness in the days of old. A good part of it was literally "ploughed as a field." The valley of Hinnom,

[1] Matth. xxiii. 37, 38.

associated so much with darkness, impurity, and blood, appeared like a deep and yawning gorge, with the facings of its nearly bare rocks on each side much cut and broken. It is now called Wádí Jehennam, or the Valley of Hell. In connexion with this name, we thought of the passage of Jeremiah, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the Valley of Slaughter,"[1] though it is not strictly applicable to its present designation. We passed along the western side of this ravine, keeping the great aqueduct from Solomon's pools, the Birket es-Sulṭán, or the Lower pool of Gihon, to the right, till we crossed the valley opposite the citadel, having the "Tower of David," or Hippicus, as one of its most prominent objects. When about to enter the Báb el-Khalíl, or the gate of Hebron, known also by the name of the Yáfá or Joppa Gate, we were taken by the Turkish soldiers on guard to the tents of the officers superintending the quarantine establishment. When we had told them of our long journey through the desert, and when I had presented to them a special letter of introduction which the Governor in Council of Bombay had kindly given to me instead of a passport, they informed us that the quarantine regulations would to a great extent be dispensed with in our case. We were to be allowed to enter the city, under the care of a guardiáno, who should attend us for a couple of days, and give us at the same time liberty to move about as we pleased, without our touching any of the people in the streets, —a condition which, owing to the commencement of the influx of pilgrims, we could not observe, and on which our attendant did not insist.

We entered the gate, and our feet stood within Jerusalem! Never did we pass through a town with such interest as on this occasion. We were conducted to the

[1] Jer. vii. 32.

lodging-house, in the Via Dolorosa, of a Greek Christian, Elias of Damascus, alias Abu Ḥabíb, the "father of the beloved," his only son, where we took up our abode. We were glad to find our friends, Messrs. Gray, Buckworth, Caulfield, and Jones, whom we had more than once met on our journey, accommodated at the same place. We had not heard a word of news from Europe for upwards of two months; and they communicated intelligence sufficient to awaken the deepest interest and anxieties of all the sons of Scotland, even in the most distant lands of their pilgrimage. A file of papers, which was kindly sent to us by Mr. Young, the English consul, did not tend to diminish these anxieties. It would be difficult to say whether, for this day at least, the natural Jerusalem in the land of Israel, or the spiritual Zion in the land of Caledonia, was uppermost in our thoughts and feelings. That the God of Zion reigneth, alone gave us hope and peace.

Bethlehem.

Citadel of Jerusalem.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### JERUSALEM AND ITS ENVIRONS.

During my first visit to Jerusalem with Mr. Smith, I devoted eleven laborious days to the work of observation and research within and without its walls, and in its immediate neighbourhood; and during a second visit with the Rev. Mr. Graham, I devoted five days to the same pursuit. The results of our survey and inquiries, I shall here, for the sake of convenience, combine together. Considering the attention which has been devoted to the Holy City by innumerable writers, and particularly the late full and able discussion of its topography, on somewhat opposite principles, by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams, my reader will expect from me but little that can be characterized as strictly novel. If I suc-

ceed in giving him such a coup d'œil of the different localities and objects as we ourselves obtained during our excursions; in presenting him with the judgment, whether correct or erroneous, which we formed respecting them; and in giving him an incidental account of the people with whom we came into contact, he must be satisfied.

In some of our walks we had intelligent guides from the three different divisions of the community of Jerusalem,—if such an expression can be used of bodies of men totally repugnant to one another, both in sacred and civil affairs, but who, nevertheless, reside together in unavoidable contiguity, —the Christian, the Jewish, and the Muhammadan; but in others we entered on, and finished, our explorations alone. Our Christian guides cared most for what we least valued, the monkish traditions, which our own reading had previously almost uniformly taught us to discard. From the Musalmáns and the Jews we received more assistance than we expected, even though we engaged them in the hope, that as they are commonly overlooked by travellers in the capacity in which they were employed by us, they might possibly bring matters to our notice which are too often neglected. Our different walks and inquiries I combine together, without much regard to the order of time, in the way that appears best to suit the short descriptions which I shall attempt.

A WALK ROUND THE WALLS of the city can be completed in a single hour, as far as the mere conveniency of pedestrian exercise is concerned. The traveller, however, may profitably devote to it three or four hours. It should be that with which he commences his observation of Jerusalem; and with it should be connected the ascent of the Mount of Olives, from which the most striking view of the city is obtained. Such a walk will not warrant us to dispense with a more patient and particular inspection of the more important objects which it will

bring to notice. A general comprehension of the whole locality, without which being obtained in the first instance, much time will be lost, will probably be the only result. Before starting on the preliminary excursion, I request the attention of my readers to the view of the topography of the city and temple which is given by Josephus. It has formed the ground-work of most of the discussions relative to the subject of which it treats, which have been lately published; and some inconvenience has occurred, from its not having been quoted with sufficient fulness.

Respecting the *city* the Jewish historian thus writes:—

"The city was fortified with three walls, except where encompassed by unpassable valleys; in which parts it had but one wall. It was built upon two hills, fronting one another, and having a valley to separate them, at which the corresponding rows of houses on both hills terminate. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is by far the higher, and in length, the more direct. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was called the Citadel by King David; . . but it is called by us the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is curved on each side (ἀμφίκυρτος.) Over against this was a third hill, [Mount Moriah,] naturally lower than Acra, and originally separated from the other by a broad valley. But afterwards, in the times when the Asmonæans reigned, they filled up that valley with mounds, with a view to join the city to the temple; and they reduced the elevation of Acra and made it lower, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers (Τυροποιῶν,) as it was called, which we told you before separated the hill of the upper city from the lower, extended as far as Siloam;—a fountain so called which is sweet and copious. On the outside, these two hills were surrounded by deep valleys, and on account of the precipices on both sides, they were everywhere unpassable.

"Of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both on account of the valleys, and the hill on which it was built, which was above them. It was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. That wall beginning on the north at the tower of Hippicus, extended as far as the place called the Xistus, and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through the place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes; and, after that, it went southward, (or along the south, πρὸς νότον,) having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east (or along the east) at Solomon's Pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas, (Ophel,) where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple (τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.) The second wall took its beginning from the gate which they called Gennath, which belonged to the first wall, and encompassing only the northern quarter, it reached as far as Antonia. The tower of

Hippicus was the beginning of the third wall, whence reaching towards the north quarter as far as the tower of Psephinus, and thence extending itself till it came opposite the monuments of Helena, who was Queen of Adiabene, and the mother of the King Izates, it then extended farther to a great length by the Royal Caverns, and bent again at the tower of the corner, near the monument called the Fuller's, and, joined to the old wall, it ended at the valley called Kedron. It was Agrippa who, with this wall, encompassed the parts added to the old city, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its walls. And those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and caused the fourth hill, called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, and is divided from it by a deep fosse, which was dug on purpose, in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and injuring the security; so that the depth of the ditch added much to the height of the towers. This new-built part of the city was called Bezetha, in our ancient language, which, if we interpret it in Greek, may be called the New City. When its inhabitants stood in need of protection, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall now mentioned; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, through fear of Claudius Cæsar, lest he should be drawn into the suspicion, from the magnitude of the construction, of some desire of change and sedition. The city would have remained impregnable, if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; for the stones of which it was constructed were twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, and could neither have been easily undermined by iron nor shaken by engines. The wall was ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not the enterprise of him who began it been restrained. It was afterwards erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits, so that the whole altitude extended to twenty-five cubits.

"The towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height, and they were square and solid as the wall itself; and the beauty of the stones was no way inferior to the temple itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were numerous; and the steps by which the ascent was to each of them were broad. Of these towers the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits. In the middle wall were fourteen towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs (stadia.) While the third wall was all of it wonderful, the tower of Psephinus, elevated above it at the north-west corner, was the most wonderful of all, and there Titus pitched his own tent. Being seventy cubits high, Arabia could be seen from it at sunrising, and the utmost limits of the possessions of the Hebrews to the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon. And over against it was the tower Hippicus; and hard by two others were erected by King Herod in the old wall, which for size, beauty, and strength, excelled all others in the world; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he

built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of the three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them, his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain out of his love, (jealousy,) as we have already related; the others he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity. Above this solid building, which was composed of stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep for receiving rain. Over it there was a house of two stories, twenty-five cubits high, and divided into several apartments, over which were placed battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round rising to three cubits, so that the entire height amounted to eighty cubits. The second tower, which he called Phasaelus, after his brother's name, extended both in length and breadth forty cubits, and as many in height, the whole being solid. It was surrounded by a cloister ten cubits high, and walled round by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built above in the middle of the cloister, another tower, divided into magnificent rooms with baths, that nothing might be wanting to this tower on account of which it might seem less than a palace. It was also adorned on the top with battlements and turrets, more than the other which we have mentioned; and so its entire height reached to ninety cubits. In appearance, indeed, it resembled the tower in Pharus, which exhibited a fire at a distance to those sailing to Alexandria, but was much larger in circumference. This was converted into a house for the tyrant Simon. The third tower, Mariamne, (for that was his Queen's name,) was solid, as high as twenty cubits, and its breadth and its length being equal, extended to twenty cubits. But above, it had buildings more magnificent, and of greater variety than the others; the king thinking that that which was denominated from his wife, should be more adorned than those which took their name from men, as those were built stronger than this to which his wife had given name. The entire height of this tower was fifty-five cubits.

"Now as these towers were of so great a size, they appeared much larger from their site: for the very old wall within which they were built had been raised on a high hill; and it rose thirty cubits higher than the hill, and the towers being situated over it, were thereby much higher. The magnitude of the stones also was wonderful; for they were not made of common stones which men could carry; but they were of white hewn marble, each indeed being twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in height. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower seemed formed by nature of one rock, and afterwards cut by the hands of the artificer into shape and corners. In this way their joinings could not be discovered. Now these being on the north side of the wall, there was a palace adjoining it, exceeding all description: for it could not be surpassed by the magnificence of any work or construction; but the whole was surrounded by a wall thirty cubits high, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with very large chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred men. The variety of the stones cannot be expressed; for a great collection was everywhere made of those that were rare. Their roofs were wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendour of the ornaments. There was also a great number of apartments, and a vast variety of figures around them; their furniture was most costly; and

most of the vessels were of silver and gold. There were also many porticos, one after another in a circle, each with curious pillars. All the courts that were open to the firmament were everywhere verdant. There were several groves and intricate walks through them and around them, and deep canals, and many cisterns, with brazen statues everywhere, through which the water ran out. Around the fountains were many dove-cots of tame pigeons. But, indeed, it is not possible to give a description of the palace for splendour."

The account given of the site of the *temple* is as follows :—

"This temple, as I have said, was built upon the summit of a high hill. When it was begun, the level ground at the top was hardly sufficient for the temple and the altar; for on all sides it was precipitous and steep; but when King Solomon, who had built the temple, had surrounded it with a wall on its east side, there was then one cloister founded there on a mound of earth; and on the other parts, the temple remained naked; but when in course of time the people added new banks, the level part of the hill was made wider. Then the wall on the north having been broken down, they took in as much space as afterwards contained the whole enclosure of the temple; and when they had surrounded the hill with a triple wall, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, (in which long ages were spent, and all the sacred treasures exhausted which the tributes sent to God from the whole earth had filled,) they then built walls round about, above and below the temple. The lower part of this they raised to three hundred cubits, and in some places more. Yet the entire depth of the foundations did not appear, for the valleys were in a great measure filled up with earthen mounds, that they might be on a level with the narrow streets of the city. In their erection they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude. . . . .

"Now the works that were above were worthy of such foundations . . . . . The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits; and the entire compass of it was by measure, six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia. The whole space exposed to the air was laid with stones of all sorts. When you went through the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition made of stone all round, in height three cubits, curiously wrought. Here stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and others in Roman letters, that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary; for that second temple was called the sanctuary, and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was square, and surrounded by its own wall. Its exterior height, although it was forty cubits, was hidden by the steps; and on the inside the height was but twenty-five cubits; for being built in a higher place with steps, the whole of the interior was not seen, being covered by the hill. After fourteen steps, there was the distance of ten cubits to the wall; and the whole was level ground. Hence, again, other five flights of steps led to the gates which on the north and south sides were eight, and necessarily two on the east; for since here there was a partition built for the women, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was need of a second gate for them. This gate was cut out over against the first. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for the women

were not allowed to pass through the other gates; nor when they went through their own gate, could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted not only to the women of our own country, but also to those of other countries coming to worship. The western part had no gate, but the wall was there built entire. The cloisters which were betwixt the gates, extending from the wall inward, before the chambers, were supported by very fine and large pillars. The cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, differed in no respect from those of the lower courts. . . .

"As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the middle, that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps. Its height and its breadth were equal, each a hundred cubits, though behind it was forty cubits narrower. In front, its shoulders, as it were, were produced on each side to twenty cubits beyond the flanks of the temple. Its first gate, which was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five broad, had no doors, (for it represented heaven everywhere visible and open,) and all its front was covered with gold, and through it all the first part of the house which was the largest, appeared; and so did all the parts that were within the inward gate appear glittering with gold to those that saw them; but then, as the interior was divided into two parts, the first part of the house only was open to our view; and it rose in height to ninety cubits, and in length it was fifty, and in breadth twenty cubits . . . The temple being of two stories, the inner part was lower than the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits in height, and sixteen in breadth. Before these doors there was a veil of the same size as the doors, a Babylonian curtain embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a truly wonderful contexture. . . .

"The lower part of the temple received those entering it. Its height was sixty cubits, and its length equal; but its breadth was twenty cubits. These sixty cubits were again divided. The first part of it, cut off at forty cubits, had in it three things, very wonderful and famous among all mankind; the candlestick, the table, and the altar of incense. . . . But the inmost part of the temple was of twenty cubits; and was in like manner separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all placed; but it was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any, and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower temple, there were many apartments of three stories, (τρίστεγοι,) with passages out of one into another. There were also entrances into them on each side from the gate of the temple. But the superior part had no such apartment, because the temple was there narrower; but it was forty cubits higher, and narrower than the lower. Thus we gather that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits. . . .

"The temple was built of stones, some of which were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. The altar was fifteen cubits high, and its breadth and length were each fifty cubits. It was built square, having corners protruding like horns; and the ascent from the south was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without iron, and no iron ever touched it. A wall of partition a cubit in height, of fine stones and grateful to the sight, encompassed the temple and the altar, and separated the people from the priests . . . Antonia was situated at the corner at which the north and west cloisters join the exterior of the temple. It was erected upon a

rock of fifty cubits in height, and steep all round. It was the work of king Herod, in which he showed his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth stones, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that those who might try either to get up or to go down it, might easily lose their footing. Before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; and within this all the space of Antonia was built upon, to forty cubits. The interior had the extent and form of a palace, for it was divided into various rooms of every form and convenience, such as courts, galleries, baths, and very broad halls fit for the accommodation of soldiers; insomuch that as all conveniences were contained in it, it seemed to be a city, while from its magnificence it seemed a palace. And as the whole resembled a tower, it had also four other towers at its four corners, fifty cubits high, except that which lay upon the south-east corner, which was seventy cubits, so that the whole temple could be viewed from it. Where it joined the cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard (for there always lay in Antonia a Roman legion) descending, and standing in different places among the cloisters, with their arms, watched the people on the Jewish festivals, lest they might attempt any innovations. For the temple was a guard to the city as Antonia was to the temple. There were the guards of those three palaces. There was also a fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace. With regard to the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood, was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north."[1]

These notices, as will now be shown, both illustrate, and are illustrated by, the various localities which the visitor is called to inspect at Jerusalem.

We proceed down the Via Dolorosa, in which, as I have already said, we had taken up our abode. This street, like all the others in Jerusalem, is tolerably straight; and though narrow, according to the notions of the westerns, it is not less wide than the streets of the other towns of the east. It is roughly paved,—the middle of the road being its lowest part. The houses on both sides are rather substantially built; and the roofs are either formed by a swelling dome, or are entirely flat, supported by vaults and arches below. This is probably owing to the great scarcity of timber in the country. There is an ancient arch across the street, supporting a small ruined gallery with windows, which is called the

[1] Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 4, 5.

arch of the Ecce Homo, where, according to the monks, Pilate, joining the Jews in the mockery of the Saviour, said, "Behold the man!" Below it, and turning a little to the left, is the house of the Turkish military governor of Jerusalem and Gaza, a Páshá Ferik, appointed in consequence of the late interference of the allied powers in the affairs of Syria, particularly to protect the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Christian pilgrims from all parts of the Levant, who annually visit the holy city at the season of Easter.[1] It is a massive, dull building, of solid materials, and of considerable length; and, as of old, a guard-house is attached to it, in which a company of soldiers is regularly accommodated. It is close on the site of the tower Antonia, which, according to the account of Josephus, stood at the north-west corner of the temple area.[2] At its extremity, there is a lane or entrance which leads to the Ḥaram esh-Sherif, or "chief place of consecration," the enclosure in which stands the mosk of 'Omar, (or Amar,) covering the site of the ancient temple of Solomon. At the risk of being driven back by threats and vociferations, if not by dangerous missiles, from the bigoted custodiers of the mosk, we went to the very margin of the tabooed territory, and exercised our visual organs with as much intenseness as circumstances could permit. The Ḥaram consists of a beautiful lawn covered with grass, and diversified with olive, cypress, and plane trees; of a raised platform, to which the ascent is by different flights of steps passing through Saracenic arches and colonnades; of the splendid octangular building forming the mosk now mentioned; of the mosk el-Aḳsá, which is at the south-western corner of the enclosure, and which, reckoning from

[1] For an official account of the appointment and duties of the Páshá Ferik of Jerusalem, see Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Syria, presented to the House of Commons, 28th February, 1843, pp. 3, 10, 22, 24, 25, 37, &c.

[2] See above, p. 412.

Arabia, is the "remotest" sanctuary of the Muhammadans; of various oratories, at which the Musalmán pilgrims, who alone are admissible in these parts, offer up their prayers; and of cloisters stretching particularly along the west of the enclosure, in which the Muhammadan dervishes and travellers are accommodated. In the south-eastern part of the area, there is a remarkable series of vaults, which will be afterwards noticed. Our threatened intrusion was soon observed; and we were obliged to withdraw.

Near the gate of St. Stephen, which we immediately reached, and close to the eastern wall, we had our attention directed to a large ditch or reservoir, now dry, and to a great extent filled with accumulations of rubbish. By most travellers, as by the present Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, it is believed to be the pool of BETHESDA. Dr. Robinson thinks that it is not this pool, but merely the ditch which, as mentioned by Josephus, was dug to separate the hill of Bezetha from the tower of Antonia.[1] May it not have been both the "fosse," and "the pool" mentioned by the evangelist? John says that this pool was "by the sheep (ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ) *gate*, probably, and not market, for we do not read of any sheep-market at Jerusalem; and the sheep-gate must have been near the temple, as it was builded, or repaired, by the priests.[2] Though it is not to be looked for in the wall built by Agrippa, and consequently cannot be the gate of St. Stephen about to be mentioned, as some imagine, it may have led out from the temple, or even city, at this place. Dr. Robinson says, that neither Eusebius nor Jerome "gives any hint as to the situation of the pool" which they denominate Bethesda.[3] But this statement is

[1] See above, pp. 409, 413. For Dr. Robinson's views as to the Pool of Bethesda, see Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 433, 434, 489, 508.

[2] Neh. iii. 1.

[3] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 489.

not strictly correct. They both speak of it as *in* Jerusalem, and not as without the city, as Dr. Robinson seems inclined to place it.[1] The Jerusalem Itinerary, A. D. 333, mentions it also as within the city.[2] The present pool is built on both its sides; but the wall on the east, forming part of the northern wall of the Ḥaram, is most substantial. At its south-western corner there are two semicircular arches. It is probable that at one time it extended farther in that direction. The pool, according to Dr. Robinson, "measures 360 English feet in length, 130 feet in breadth, and 75 feet in depth to the bottom, besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages."[3]

The gate of St. Stephen, here at hand, is one of the four gates of Jerusalem which are now open. By the Muhammadans and Jews it is called the Báb es-Sabáṭ, "Gate of the Tribes," and by the native Christians the Báb Sittí Maryam, as leading down to the reputed tomb of the virgin Mary, which lies to the east of it, on the borders of the brook Kidron.

Emerging from this gate, we had an excellent view of the Jebel ez-Zeitún, or Mount of Olives, directly in front of us, and from which we were separated only by the valley of Jehoshaphat or Kidron, to which the descent is very steep. A goodly number of olives—and some of a great age, as those of the Gardens of Gethsemane—are still to be found

[1] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 508.—The following is Jerome's translation of the notice taken of this pool by Eusebius: —"Bethesda (Βηζαθὰ Eusebii,) piscina in Jerusalem quæ vocabatur προβατικὴ [et à nobis interpretari potest, pecualis.] Hæc quinque quondam porticus habuit, ostendunturque gemini lacus: quorum unus, hybernis fluviis impleri solet: alter, mirum in modum rubens, quasi cruentis aquis, antiqui in se operis signa testatur. Nam hostias in eo lavari à sacerdotibus solitas ferunt, unde et nomen acceperit."—Hieron. de Sit. et Nom. Loc. Hebr. sub voc. Bethesda.

[2] "Interius vero civitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares, quinque porticus habentes quæ appellantur Betsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur; aquam autem habent eæ piscinæ in modum coccini turbatam."—Itin. Hierosol. Wesselling, p. 589.

[3] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 434.

on the mount which derived from them its designation. A large part of the hill is under culture, and laid out in fields without any fences, as is generally the case throughout the country; but bare ledges and patches of the white compact cretaceous rock of the country, nevertheless, form no small portion of its surface. The most conspicuous object upon it is the Church of the Ascension, which crowns its summits. Its height above the brook Kidron, opposite the gate of St. Stephen, is 600 feet.[1]

Turning to the right of the gate of St. Stephen, and keeping close to the wall of the city, we came, after advancing a few yards, to the north-eastern corner of the enclosure of the Ḥaram. The workmanship of the wall here attracts particular attention. Part of it is of stones of more than Cyclopean dimensions, of a remarkably ancient appearance, with bevelled edges. They rise to various heights, as if part of the walls had been violently thrown down or destroyed; and in the repairing of the wall in later times, they have been built upon with stones of much smaller dimensions. Such massive stones are seen at various parts of the eastern wall of the Ḥaram, and particularly at its southern corner, on both sides; and at different times they have particularly attracted the attention of travellers.[2] We measured two of these stones. One of them was twenty-four feet by six, and the other nineteen feet by five and a half.

There is a gate with double archways resting on Roman capitals in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram. It has long been completely built up; but formerly it was open, and a Christian procession was wont to enter it on the Day of the Palms, when the Armenian bishop rode through it

[1] See relievo map of Palestine, published by Dobbs and Bailey.

[2] In the Jachus-ha-Aboth, it is said that "nothing remains at Jerusalem of the ancient structures, except certain foundations of the walls."—Cip. Heb. p. 34.

in triumph, seated upon an ass, in imitation of our Lord. The Jewish author of the Jachus ha-Aboth, says it is of "Israelitish structure," (מבנין ישראל[1]). By Europeans it is commonly called the Golden Gate, and by the Musulmáns, the Báb edh-Dhaharíyah, and the Báb er-Raḥmah, or "Gate of Mercy." It is generally supposed to have belonged to Herod's temple; but Dr. Robinson ascribes it to the times of Adrian, to whose idol-temple he supposes it may have conducted. Mr. Catherwood, the able and enterprising architect, whose researches within I shall afterwards have occasion to notice, comparing it with the subterraneous workmanship under el-Aḳsá, and other parts of the Ḥaram, considers it to have formed an approach to the ancient great temple of Herod. To this opinion most people will be inclined to defer. Mr. Catherwood had the good fortune to see it from within the wall. He says, "It is divided by two columns into a double arcade, surmounted at one end by two cupolas, which admit the light. . . . . The walls are of great solidity, being eleven feet in thickness on each side, and the outside walls are decorated with pilasters and entablature in the same style."[2]

Along the side of the eastern wall of the Ḥaram, and extending a little farther to the north, is the principal Muhammadan cemetery. The tombs, generally speaking, are of a very plain description. The privilege of interment near the sacred rock below the mosk of 'Omar, is highly valued. Looking across the Kidron from this place to the base and flanks of the Mount of Olives, we see the Jewish burying-ground, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. For nearly two thousand five hundred years at least, the Jews must have deposited their dead at this place, for of Josiah it is said, that he "brought out the grove from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Ki-

[1] Cip. Heb. p. 41. [2] Bartlett's Walks about Jerusalem, p. 172.

dron, and burnt it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people."[1] Innumerable plain white slabs cover the remains of the departed. What a resurrection there will here be, when the Lord comes to be glorified in his saints, and to take vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of his Son!

At the south-eastern wall of the Ḥaram, the descent to the valley of the Kidron is very steep. The romantic, or rather fantastic, village of Selwán or SILOAM, lies across the Kidron on the bank of the precipices to the south. Its inhabitants are a sort of troglodyte Arabs, inhabiting the ancient tombs and other excavations, as well as miserable huts of their own erection. The Mount of Offence, where Solomon is supposed to have practised his abominable idolatries,—a continuation of the Mount of Olives—lies to the south-east of the village.[2]

The southern wall of the Ḥaram—at the eastern corner of which, in particular, the remains of ancient Jewish workmanship again appear—approaches the very brink of a steep precipice. At about two-thirds of the distance from the corner, the city wall strikes off from that of the Ḥaram, and after turning again to the west, it proceeds in a straight line to the Báb el-Maghâribah, probably corresponding with the ancient Dung-gate. This is the valley of the Tyropæon mentioned by Josephus.

From this place, the steep ascent of Mount Zion commences along the wall of the city, presenting here several angles and elbows. A great part of this hill has been long under culture; and Zion, according to prophecy, is thus literally "ploughed like a field."[3] How great are the changes

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

[2] "Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem; and for Moloch the abomination of the children of Ammon. And likewise did he for all his strange wives."—1 Kings xi. 7, 8.

[3] Jer. xxvi. 18. Micah iii. 12.

which it has seen from the time when its sacred glory and imperial greatness, were thus the subjects of inspired song, —"God is known in her palaces for a refuge . . . . Walk about Zion and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following!"[1] On the middle of the ridge of Zion is the Báb en-Nabí Dáwúd, "the Gate of the prophet David," or Zion Gate. Near it is a small convent of the Armenians, which, it is alleged, occupies the site of the house of Caiaphas, where they pretend to exhibit to the wondering pilgrims of that widely scattered people, the stone with which the sepulchre of our Lord was closed, and where they point out the spot where Peter denied his master, where the cock crew, and where our Lord was imprisoned. To the south of this, and crowning the brow of Zion, are the Muhammadan edifices called Nabí Dáwúd, covering the tomb of David, and the kings of Judah. They are rather imposing at a distance; and form conspicuous objects in the panorama of Jerusalem. Entrance to them has long been denied to Christians and Jews. We in vain attempted to persuade the principal guardian of the place to allow us to enter the sanctum. King David himself, he said, appeared to his ancestors some hundred years ago, and commanded them to take and keep possession of the venerable locality. The Christian burying-grounds, Greek, Latin, Armenian, English, and American, lie to the west of the road leading from the Zion Gate to Nabí Dáwúd. The Hill of Evil Counsel, with some ruins and buildings on its summits, lies to the south across the valley of Ben Hinnom. The learned traveller, Dr. Clarke, propounded the theory, that this hill is the true Zion of the Bible—a theory that is utterly irreconcilable with both the Sacred Scriptures and Josephus.[2]

[1] Ps. xlviii. 3, 12, 13.

[2] See above, p. 408.

The city wall, when it has reached the western brow of Zion, strikes away to the north, keeping nearly in a straight line, till the citadel occurs. This erection we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. North of the citadel is the Bethlehem Gate, by which we at first entered Jerusalem. The wall from this place proceeds in a north-west direction till it gets behind the Latin convent, where it presents various salient angles, suitable to the elevated ground on which it stands. From this part it strikes to the north-east, as far as the Damascus Gate. The pilgrim following its course, has a succession of cultivated fields and olive groves to the left, separated from one another occasionally by ruinous dykes of dry stone. The soil is as productive as could be expected, when it is considered that it stands on the parts of the city, which were of old surrounded by the third or Agrippa's wall.

Before coming to the gate of Damascus, in the direction in which I am now conducting the reader, we observed, what we had not seen alluded to in any book of travels, that the wall for some extent above its foundation, bears in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones the evidence of great antiquity. The Saracens have made grooves in them to make them correspond symmetrically with their own workmanship above; and the traveller is apt to pass them by without notice. They are decidedly of the character, however, which I have mentioned; and they are probably remains of the second wall described by Josephus. They ought to be taken into account in the discussion of the great topographical question of the site of the Holy Sepulchre. They extend about three hundred feet from the Damascus Gate, to which they also continue.

The present name of the Damascus Gate is the Báb el-Amúd, "the Gate of the Pillar." It is most probably the Gate of Ephraim of Scripture, leading as it does to the north, to the capital of Israel. In an architectural point of

view, it is well worthy of notice. The workmanship of its lower portions, like that of the part of the western wall to which I have alluded, is massive, and in all probability to be referred to the time of the Jews. There are chisellings in the large stones likewise to accommodate them to the Saracenic workmanship above. The arch of the gate is pointed; but it is filled up with mason-work to the lintel of the gate itself. There are two square towers, one being on each side of the gate; and they, as well as the chambers over the gate, are surmounted by battlements with pointed risings in the best Saracenic style.

The "Grotto of Jeremiah" is a short distance north of the Damascus Gate. It is in a rocky eminence, which seems at one time to have been wrought as a quarry. It has been used as a place of interment. A Muhammadan cemetery is close upon its northern parts. Looking north of the grotto, by the road which leads to Nábulus, the hill Scopus, so much noted in the Jewish wars, is visible. The valley of Jehoshaphat runs along its base from west to east; and then it deflects, to form the boundary of the site of the city on the eastern side from north to south. It is on the northern side of Jerusalem that the hills, by which the city is surrounded, are most remote. Looking to the position of Jerusalem, with regard to all these hills, we see the propriety of the figure which they suggested to the Psalmist, "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth even for ever."[1]

The Báb ez-Záhárí, or Herod's Gate, now closed, is intermediate between the Damascus Gate and the north-east corner of the city wall. The remains of the trench by which the wall was protected, are visible at the corner now mentioned, and at both sides of the wall of which it forms

[1] Psalm cxxv. 2.

the junction. It is called the Birket el-Ḥaj. The eastern wall of the city to St. Stephen's Gate, is in a straight line, nearly corresponding with that of the Ḥaram, which is its continuation.

The whole circumference of the walls of Jerusalem, which we have now hastily traversed, is only about two and a-half English miles.[1] Its houses must of old have been closely planted together, to accommodate the population which it is said to have contained. This is implied by the Psalmist, when he says, "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compacted together."[2] Its site among the mountains, surrounded on three sides by deep gorges, was admirably chosen for troublous times; and there cannot be a doubt, that as a capital existing where it did, and difficult of access, and strongly defended by nature, it escaped much of the opposition which it might have experienced, from the hostile Philistine and jealous Syrian, had it been built on the approachable coasts of the great sea, or the nearly level plain of Esdraelon. The wisdom and sovereignty of God were both exhibited in its choice. "He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim; but chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Zion, which he loved; and he built his sanctuary like high *palaces*, (the heights,) like the earth, which he hath established for ever."[3] What the peculiar advantages of Jerusalem may be as the restored capital of the converted Jews—for prophecy, if rightly interpreted by us, leads us to expect such to be its final destination—I shall not presume to say. It is completely commanded, say some, by the Mount of Olives and other adjoining eminences, and could not resist the military projectiles of the present time; but, surely, it will suffer no disadvantage on this account in the days of

[1] See particular measurements in Robinson, vol. i. p. 395.

[2] Psalm cxxii. 3.

[3] Psalm lxxviii. 67-69.

peace, when men shall learn the art of war no more. Remote from the coast of the Mediterranean, and crowning—at a height considerably upwards of 2000 feet above the level of the sea[1]—a rough and broken ridge which may never be surmounted by the power of steam, and having but very limited internal resources, it may never be distinguished for its commercial greatness; but, on this very account, it may be the more suitable as the retreat of piety, the metropolis of religion, and the memorial of the overwhelming wonders of redemption, and mysteries of providence, the central spot, or focus, where the rays of light from all the dispensations of God towards the nations of the earth, and especially the seed of Abraham his friend, will converge together, to the most effulgent display of his sovereignty, and truth, and faithfulness, and grace.

On concluding our first journey round the walls of Jerusalem, we ascended to the top of these walls from St. Stephen's Gate, and made a short excursion along the battlements. A morning or evening walk on the walls of Jerusalem, is remarkably pleasant and interesting. It can be extended at different places to a considerable distance. It need not, of course, be attempted at the parts of these walls which enclose the Haram. The gates of the city are shut a few minutes after sunset. On more than one occasion, we were in danger of being excluded for the night. The Turkish soldiers on guard kindly set out one evening to recall us from our wanderings before turning their locks and bars. The unsettled state of the country, and the numbers of trustless Arabs in the adjoining villages, render it expedient thus early to close the gates.

We returned to our lodgings by the line of streets by which

[1] The summit of the Mount of Olives is 2397 English feet above the level of the Mediterranean, according to the measurements of Lieut. Symonds. Relievo Map of Palestine. According to Schubert it is 2555 Paris feet. Reise in das Morgenland, Dritt. Band.

we had left them. Whether the Via Dolorosa receives a right denomination or not, we do not know. It was up part of its ascent, or that of its neighbourhood, however, that, in all probability, Christ bore his cross to Calvary, when the rage of his enemies, the pressure of his Father's wrath, aroused by that sin which his love prompted him to bear, and the agonies of his mysterious death, lay heavy upon his soul travelling in the greatness of its strength for our redemption. Who, in such a locality, should seek to exclude from his view the scenes of that day of overwhelming terror and infinite grace?

In connexion with the hasty excursion round the present walls of Jerusalem, which I have now imperfectly endeavoured to describe, I may notice some walks we took in order to seek for the traces of the THIRD WALL of Jerusalem, that ascribed by Josephus to Agrippa. On one of these excursions, we enjoyed the guidance of Dr. Schulze, the able, and learned, and amiable representative of his Prussian Majesty at Jerusalem, to whom we are greatly obliged for the knowledge of the facts which I simply mention. Coming out at the Bethlehem Gate, we proceeded together along the portion of the city wall leading to the north-west. Going forward much upon the same line, but keeping along a very slight elevation, we found some small traces of Agrippa's wall; and about the same distance from the corner of the present city, that is from the Bethlehem Gate, we found what we supposed to be a portion of the tower Psephinus, described in terms of high admiration, in the passage which has been quoted from Josephus. Looking to the east of this point, we came upon another portion of these foundations, with several cisterns hewn out of the solid rock, contiguous to it. Running again to the north-by-east, we saw other traces of the wall. In this way we followed it close to the tombs of the kings, so close indeed that we were at a loss to

know whether the walls did or did not anciently include them. At the tombs of the kings, from the nature of the country, it must have crossed to the east of the valley of Jehoshaphat, along the ridge of which it would probably proceed till it joined the present wall of the city at its north-eastern corner. In the plan of Jerusalem, I have endeavoured to sketch its general course as thus indicated and supposed. On one occasion, we took several Jews over this course, including the son of the celebrated Rabbi Herschell of London, showing them what we had ourselves observed of the wall; and they seemed greatly interested in the view which they thus obtained of the former extent of the city of Jerusalem. The traces of the wall which we saw run considerably to the north of the line drawn by Dr. Robinson. As far as I can understand Josephus, they seem to agree with what he says in his account of the third wall. "The tower Hippicus was the beginning of the third wall, whence, reaching towards the north quarter as far as the tower Psephinus, and thence extending itself till it came over against the monuments of Helena, who was Queen of Adiabene, and the mother of king Izates, it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the Royal Caverns, and bent again at the tower of the corner, near the monument which is called the Fuller's, and joined to the old wall, it ended at the valley called Kidron."[1]

Having now referred to what are now the "TOMBS OF THE KINGS," I may here take all the notice of them which I think expedient, without attempting the minute description of them which has been given by many travellers. I three times visited them, twice in company with Mr. Smith, and once with the Rev. William Graham. The names given to them by our Muhammadan and Jewish guides were new

[1] See above, p. 409.

to us. The former called them the Sabà Salátin, or Seven Kings ;[1] and the latter the Kalbá Shabuà, (כלבא שבוע) who they said is celebrated in the Talmud for a charity extended, as the name indicates, to the dogs of the streets. The tombs are entirely subterraneous. A pit or trench, about ninety feet square, is hewn out of the solid rock, and having on one side a facing of the living rock, through a small arch in which you descend into the area below. On three sides of the trench, which is now to some extent filled with rubbish, we see nothing but the bare-cut wall; but on the western side there is a beautiful façade, directly above an open porch, presenting bunches of grapes, wreaths of flowers, and branches of the palm-tree in tolerable preservation, and showing excellence of sculpture.[2] One has to stoop somewhat on entering the porch. It is, according to Dr. Robinson, thirty-nine feet in length, and seventeen in breadth, and fifteen in height. It leads by a low door, and through a narrow, but short passage, into an apartment about twelve cubits square, in which some stone doors, pannelled as if made of wood, complete and in fragments, and also pieces of sarcophagi, are now strewn about. On its southern side, are two other square apartments, and on its western side, one of the same character, with several crypts for the accommodation of bodies. From the middle crypt of the inner chamber on the west, there is an entrance to another chamber on the north. In the whole excavations now referred to, from thirty to forty bodies may be conveniently disposed of. The excavations, both as far as workmanship and magnitude are concerned, are the most important in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The question, to whom are they to be referred, is not without interest.

[1] Query—do they mean by these the Seven Sleepers?

[2] "The style of the rich entablature," says Mr. Bartlett, "is what is called Roman Doric."—Walks about Jerusalem, p. 142.

They cannot be supposed to be the tombs of the kings of Judah; for these remarkable personages, whose sepulchres are referred to in the Acts of the Apostles,[1] were, with four exceptions, buried in the "City of David," and probably at the place inaccessible to Christians, now occupied by the Muhammadan mosk of Nabí Dáwúd on Mount Zion. Of Uzzah, one of the kings of Judah who were not buried within their sepulchres, properly so called, we find it said, that "they buried him with his fathers, [probably immediately contiguous to them,] in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings [on Mount Zion;] for they said he is a leper."[2] Of Ahaz, it is said, that "they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem; but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel."[3] Manasseh was buried in "the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzzah."[4] Amon his son, was buried "in his sepulchre," also "in the garden of Uzzah."[5] None of these sovereigns, then, were interred where the tombs to the north of Jerusalem are now found.

The monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, which are referred to by Josephus in the passage which we have quoted at length, were, it will have been observed, at no great distance from the third wall of Jerusalem.[6] They were famous not only in the locality where they existed, but in other parts of the world; for they are mentioned not only by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome, but by the Roman Pausanias, and the Armenian Moses Choronensis. Pococke and others, and particularly Dr. Robinson of America, identify these monuments with the excavations which we have now noticed. The last mentioned writer directs attention

[1] Acts ii. 29.
[2] 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.
[3] 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.
[4] 2 Kings xxi. 18; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20.
[5] 2 Kings xxi. 26.
[6] See above, p. 409.

to the fact, that when Saint Paula entered Jerusalem, she had, according to Jerome, the monuments of Helena on her left, and, consequently, apparently in a position corresponding with that of the tombs of the kings, for the "great northern road, at present, is unquestionably the same that it ever was," and runs a little to the west of them. Before we can lay much stress on this circumstance, we should require to know the exact route of Paula's march, her movements among the villages north of Jerusalem, and the particular gate by which she entered the city. Dr. Robinson, too, thinks that in the account which a passage of Pausanias, referred to by Valesius, gives of the door of the sepulchre, according to which it annually opened by a mechanical contrivance, at a particular day and hour, we have only an exaggerated description of the curiously carved doors of the tombs which moved on their own tenons inserted in the rock; but in this construction of the notice of Pausanias, a latitude of interpretation is claimed which most will hesitate to grant. The tombs of Helena, it must be borne in mind, were famous, not so much as *excavations*—for they are not particularly mentioned as such—but as monuments, (μνημεία,[1]) and commemorative pillars or cippi, (στηλαι.[2]) Such monuments, Dr. Robinson thinks, may have been *attached to* the tomb of Helena. "The three pyramids or stelæ, by which the tomb was anciently surmounted," he says, "were probably erected over the portal on the level ground above."[3] This theory does not well accord with the passage of Josephus, which is the authority for the three pyramids here referred to. That passage bears that Monobazus sent the bones of Helena—for she had returned to her own country—as well as those of Izates, her son, to Jerusalem, and "gave orders that they should be *buried in the pyramids*, (θάψαι ἐν ταῖς πυρ-

[1] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 4, 2.

[2] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 12.

[3] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 537.

αμίσιν,) which the mother had erected, and three stadia distant from the city of Jerusalem."[1] The identification of the monuments of Helena, and the tombs of the kings, in the view of these circumstances, appears to me extremely doubtful.

On the other hand, nothing is more natural than to suppose that they are the excavations to which Josephus refers, when, after mentioning that the third wall "came opposite the monuments of Helena," it "then extended further to a great length," and passed by the "Royal [Herodian] Caverns," (διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν.[2]) With their large accommodations, they are more like sepulchres intended for a royal family reigning at Jerusalem, than for a foreign queen and her two sons. Where, except in this quarter of the suburbs of Jerusalem, clearly indicated by Josephus, are any other tombs worthy of being denominated "Royal Caverns" to be found? But enough of this question, interesting though it be. Others of still more importance have to be urged in connexion with the walls of Jerusalem.

Our attention was particularly caught by the CISTERNS in the fields through which we endeavoured to trace the third wall of the city, and their proximity to the line of that wall. When Mr. Graham and I were exploring the southern front of Mount Zion, we found what we considered several remains of cisterns cut out of that rock, but now much injured and imperfect. They were contiguous to enscarpments in the rock, which may have been auxiliary to the built portions of the ancient wall. Following the course of them, we came to the conclusion that the wall by which the southern part of Zion was surrounded, must have been much nearer the summits of the mount than is represented in the excellent plan of Mr. Catherwood, which happened to

[1] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xx. cap. iii. 3.

[2] Joseph Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. iv. 2.

be in our hands at the time of our examination of this locality. That line I.e brings close down to the valley of Ben-Hinnom, much to the injury, as it appears, of the defences of Zion. Dr. Robinson draws his line considerably higher at first; but he allows it too soon to fall. If we formed a correct judgment from the remains of the excavations to which I have alluded, which we supposed would be close on the interior of the wall, it would not bend so much to the south, in its passage downward to the pool of Siloam, as it does on Dr. Robinson's plan. I mention this particularly, because a wall round Mount Zion, being obviously for its defence, would most probably have every natural advantage in its site which the locality could afford. The impregnableness of Zion is alluded to in Scripture.[1] Josephus says, that of the three walls, "the old one" (with which we have here to do) "was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, which was above them," (the valleys.[2])

When conducting the reader along the outer wall of the present city, I promised to direct his attention to the CITADEL near the Bethlehem Gate. That promise, as we enter Jerusalem by that gate, I now fulfil. Of the appearance of the citadel, as seen from without, some idea may be formed from the view taken of it by Bernatz, which, in a reduced form, is given as the headpiece of this Chapter. Its sloping bulwark, which rises from the ditch by which it is here surrounded at a greater angle than that of 45°, mentioned by Dr. Robinson, is probably correctly attributed by him to the times of the Romans, who, rebuilding and fortifying the city, would likely not overlook this commanding site.[3] Its north-eastern tower, which is called by Europeans the "Tower of David," and which now bears the

[1] Psalm cxxv. 1; xlviii. 12, 13.

[2] See above, p. 408.

[3] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 455.

Turkish standard, is fitted to attract particular attention. It is a quadrangular erection, exhibiting both modern and ancient masonry.[1] The antique portion, which is of course the lowest, is of unequal height, but in some parts, it rises from the fosse below, which is partly filled up to a height of about forty feet, forming apparently a solid mass of building, to which no entrance has yet been discovered. The stones of which it is constructed are bevelled at the edges; and some of them are from eight to twelve feet in length, and about four feet in height. Making some allowance for Josephus writing at Rome, probably from memory, and not without a feeling of national vanity, this tower may be supposed to be in part the remains of one of those remarkable erections described by him, which he attributes to Herod: and from its situation on Zion, and its connexion with the course of the walls, to be that which was known by the name of Hippicus, and of which Josephus says that it was square, with a length and breadth of twenty-five cubits, with a height of thirty in its solid parts, and without vacuity.[2] As such it has been recognised for some time; and in the topography of Jerusalem, it is a definite site of the greatest value, as it is by referring to Hippicus that Josephus gives us an intelligible view of the course of the walls of the city. This tower, he informs us, was, with its compeers, Mariamne and Phasaëlus, left standing by Titus when he destroyed Jerusalem, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of a city it was which the Roman valour had subdued.[3] The fortress of which it is a part, was the last which was surrendered to the crusaders, when they took the city in the year 1099. These furious invaders and their successors, the Muhammadans, in denominating it the Tower and Citadel

[1] According to Dr. Robinson, its eastern side measures 56 feet 4 inches, and the southern side 70 feet 3 inches.

[2] See above, p. 410.

[3] Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. i. 1.

of David, probably attributed its erection to that warrior king.[1] Perhaps if the building were thoroughly examined, some foundations might be discovered, even more ancient than those of Herod, which are still conspicuous. The name of the castle of the Pisans, which it has sometimes borne, it received from its having been repaired by members of the Pisan republic.[2]

The tower of Hippicus, as we have already seen, is mentioned by Josephus, as a starting point for the determination of the course of the *first* and *third* WALLS of Jerusalem. The course of the first, he says, "beginning on the north at the tower of Hippicus, extended as far as the place called Xistus, and then, joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple."[3] In this line, from the ascertained position of Hippicus and the site of the temple, it must obviously have been from west to east. It was somewhere in this line also that the gate Gennath, which was the starting point of the *second* wall, occurred. "The second wall," says the Jewish historian, "took its beginning from the gate, which they called Gennath, [Gardens,] which belonged to the first wall; and encompassing only the northern quarter, it reached as far as Antonia."[4] This second wall was the northern wall of Jerusalem in the days of our Saviour, though the extension of the city was then so great that it led to the building of the third wall about ten or twelve years after his death. The determination of its course materially affects the question, which has long been urged, IS THE ALLEGED SITE OF THE TOMB OF CHRIST, over which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is built, really beyond the line of this wall,

[1] See Robinson, Bib. Researches, vol. i. pp. 454, 455; also Willermi Tyrensis Hist., lib. viii. 24, etc.

[2] Pisanum castrum, vallibus, fossis et turribus cinctum, quod in occidua civitatis parte a Christianis Pisarum Italiæ oppidi incolis, tempore quo terræ sanctæ tenebant dominium, constructum est.—Adrichomii Theat. Ter. Sanct. p. 156.

[3] See above, p. 408.

[4] See above, p. 408.

as it ought to be in conformity with the intimations that "the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city,"[1] and that he "suffered without the gate,"[2] and consequently entitled to the presumption of genuineness; or within its course, and therefore altogether apocryphal and erroneous? This question, owing to its connexion with alleged ecclesiastical miracles, and ancient and modern exhibitions both of devotion and superstition, is now admitted on all hands to be highly important. Dr. Robinson, after a laborious and calm discussion, has answered it in the negative, as others had done before his day; but his conclusions, though they have obtained the acquiescence of multitudes of his readers, both in Europe and America, have been assented to but by few of the travellers who have visited Jerusalem, and favoured the world with the result of their observations, since the publication of his most important Biblical Researches. The result of my own observation, and of that of the intelligent friends who were associated with me in my journey, compared with the historical notices with which the question is brought before us, it will be expected that I should distinctly state.

Before doing this, I have only one preliminary remark to make. It is to the effect that the intimations in the Scriptures make the impression on my mind, that the crucifixion and burial of Christ took place not merely beyond any particular wall of Jerusalem, but beyond any distinct parts of the city which might lie beyond that wall. It is a remarkable fact, which I have not seen noticed in the discussions which have been raised about the site of the Holy Sepulchre, that Adrichomius, the author of the Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, published under high papal auspices at Cologne at the end of the sixteenth century, in his elaborate plan of Jerusalem,

[1] John xix. 20. [2] Heb. xiii. 12.

fixes Mount Calvary and the Sepulchre not only beyond the second but even the *third* wall, and clear of all buildings belonging to the ancient city.[1] In doing this, he was guided, I doubt not, by what seems to be a common-sense understanding of the divine word, but without questioning the propriety of the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he also places exterior to these walls. He seems to have had before him no such accounts of the actual topography of Jerusalem, as would have led him either to reject the alleged site of the sepulchre, or to bring his walls into such a position as would preserve the theory of its identification from being impugned by those who might become practically acquainted with that topography.

But let us connect, as we have proposed to do, the question of the sepulchre merely with that of the course of the second wall. Josephus states, that its beginning was at the gate called Gennath, without giving us any definite data for fixing the position of that gate. Dr. Robinson says, "This gate of Gennath in the first wall, doubtless, was *near* the tower Hippicus, and was probably included within the second wall, in order to allow a direct passage between the upper city and the country." He also states, that "it must have been on the east of Hippicus, for the *third* wall began at that tower. It could not, however, have been far distant; because that part of Zion was then high and steep."[2] Mr. Williams places the gate at "*some considerable distance* to the east of the Hippic tower," for "the towers of Phasaëlus and Mariamne stood not far from Hippicus on the first or ancient wall," and "connected with these three towers was the royal castle or palace of the first Herod, which was enclosed by the said wall on the north." "The gate of Gennath," he adds, "must have been east, not of the Hippic tower only, but of both

[1] See his plan attached to the Theatrum Ter. Sanct. p. 145.

[2] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 462.

the others, and of the whole space on the north wall of Zion."[1] To my mind, the occurrence of the two towers and the palace here mentioned, may be urged with propriety as a reason for placing the gate Gennath *west* of them; for surely it will not be contended, that there was no interval between Hippicus and Phasaëlus, and Mariamne. If Gennath be placed between Hippicus and the first of the towers, an exit would be found from the town without encountering the precipice to the north of Zion, which Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams are equally anxious to avoid, the one making the gate exist before the precipice commences, and the other after it has terminated. Mr. Williams, by excluding the "whole space on the north wall of Zion" from enclosure by the second wall, makes it exclude near the half of the north of the city, while Josephus informs us that it "encompassed the northern quarter of the city," and not a mere portion of it. To encompass this district, it must have been near to Hippicus. To exclude the greater part of the present Jerusalem, north of Zion from the second wall, is to reduce the city of Jerusalem, in the days of our Lord, to dimensions quite incompatible with all the ideas which we are led to form of its populousness and extent.

Mr. Williams having fixed the gate Gennath so far to the east of Hippicus, shows us how easily the wall could run from it to the neighbourhood of the Damascus Gate, and *exclude* the Holy Sepulchre. He did me the favour of pointing out the course of this line, when I had the pleasure of meeting him at Jerusalem. Independently of the authority for the place of its commencement, to which I have now referred, I saw no other objection which could be reasonably urged against it, except its low position, which appeared to me ill chosen for a wall of defence. He also kindly showed

[1] Holy City, p. 262.

to me "the pier of a gateway, with the spring-course of the arch still entire,"[1] near the ruins of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, contiguous to the present bázárs of the city, which he supposed belonged to a "gateway of the second wall." Though this relic is certainly remarkable, it appeared to me more like the side of a vaulted room than anything else. Mr. Williams admits that it has been turned to account as such in a later building, with a spring-course of an arch of smaller stones, which partly remains, to correspond with it on the other side.[2]

Holding, then, that the gate of Gennath was near the tower of Hippicus, and drawing a line from it to encircle the northern part of the city, according to the requisition of Josephus, to the large stones in the present wall of Jerusalem near the Damascus Gate, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is *included*, and consequently found in such a position as is irreconcilable with the Scriptural accounts of our Lord's crucifixion and burial. This line, it is worthy of notice, is found to include also the pool lying a little to the north-east, which the monkish topographist, Quaresmius, and some others since his day, think should be attributed to Hezekiah, and the position of which seems to agree with the Scriptural notices of the work of Hezekiah.[3] This pool appears a very ancient excavation; and if it be really the work of Hezekiah, it forms another argument for drawing the line of the city wall in the direction I have mentioned.[4]

[1] Holy City, p. 286.

[2] Holy City, p. 287.

[3] 2 Kings xx. 20; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

[4] Dr. Robinson says of this pool, "It was formerly called by the monks the Pool of the Holy Sepulchre. The natives now call it *Birket el-Hummâm*, from the circumstance that its waters are used to supply a bath in the vicinity. Its sides run towards the cardinal points. Its breadth at the N. end is 144 feet; its length on the E. side about 240 feet, though the adjacent houses here prevented any very exact measurement. The depth is not great. The bottom is rock, levelled and covered with cement; and on the W. side the rock is cut down for some depth. The reservoir is supplied with

So much for the topographical argument against the conclusion that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre really covers the place of our Lord's interment. To what is called the historical argument, I shall now refer. I do not know that anything of consequence remains to be added to what Dr. Robinson has advanced on the subject, though, after a careful examination of his authorities, I am inclined to say that he has perhaps pressed them somewhat beyond their legitimate bounds.

The amount of the testimony of antiquity seems to be briefly as follows:—From Eusebius, it is gathered, that the Emperor Constantine was induced by motives, said to be of divine suggestion, to set upon the search for the tomb of Christ. It had been covered with earth by the enemies of Christianity, and it was surmounted by a temple of Venus. On the demolition of the fane, and the removal of the earth on which it stood, the "memorial of Christ's resurrection" was discovered. Its recovery, in these circumstances, was said to be miraculous. The order was given and carried into effect, that it should be purified and adorned with splendid buildings. Jerome, writing about sixty years after Eusebius, about the year of Christ 395, affirms that an idol had stood upon the spot from the time of Adrian. Subsequent ecclesiastical historians and writers ascribe the disco-

water during the rainy season, by the small aqueduct or drain brought down from the Upper Pool, along the surface of the ground and under the wall at or near the Yâfa Gate. . . . We are told of King Hezekiah, that he 'made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city;' and also that 'he stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David.' From this language we can only infer, that Hezekiah constructed a pool within the city on its western part. To such a pool, the present reservoir, which is doubtless an ancient work, entirely corresponds; and it is also fed in a similar manner. The pool must of course have been situated within the second wall of Josephus; and its present position serves, therefore, to determine, in part, the probable course of that wall."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 487-489.

very of the sepulchre and cross to Helena, the mother of Constantine. There is no doubt that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre still covers the site which was selected by the emperor and his mother.

Dr. Robinson says that there is a "discrepancy" in the accounts. Eusebius and the other historians speak only of a temple of Venus over the sepulchre; while Jerome places the marble statue of Venus on the "rock of the cross," and an image of Jupiter on the place of the resurrection.[1] But may not this be an amplification, and not a discrepancy? The temple of Venus, of Eusebius, might comprehend the statues of Jerome in the same way as the ecclesiastical buildings, under the name of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, include the reputed places of both the crucifixion and burial of our Lord. I here reason on the principles of those who contend for the accuracy of the site. I think it very unlikely that these places were so near one another, as they are placed in the distribution of the *loca sancta* of the erection now named. Dr. Robinson says, that "writers *ex post facto* have mentioned such an idol as standing, not over the sepulchre known of old as being that of Christ, but *over the spot fixed upon by Constantine as that sepulchre;*"[2] but this is scarcely doing justice to the testimony which these writers actually give, or to the estimate of that testimony which the circumstances of the case require us to make. When Eusebius and Jerome, and those who followed them, ascribe the works of the enemies of the faith to a desire to conceal the sepulchre, they give us to wit by implication, that, at *the time of the heathen pollutions*, the place must have been known both to the enemies and friends of Christianity. On the other hand, by the stress which they lay on the magnitude and difficulty of the

[1] Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 73. [2] Ibid. p. 74.

discovery which was made, viewed independently of their allegation of the divine assistance, they give us also to wit, that *in the interval occurring between the heathen erections and their destruction*, the exact place of the sepulchre had ceased, or almost wholly ceased, even in a general way, to be identified. That exact spot, not the whereabouts of Calvary itself, had been given over, to use the words of Eusebius, to "forgetfulness and oblivion."[1] The discovery or "invention" of "the sign of the most sacred passion," was a miracle so great, that "the belief of it transcends all the natural capacity of human reason, as much as divine things exceed those that are human."[2] Such, I think, is the substance and meaning of all that Eusebius has written on the subject in his life of Constantine. Let us look him straight in the face, and give him a fair hearing when we call him into the witness-box.

One word now respecting the alleged transactions of Helena, connected with the discovery of the sepulchre and the "holy cross." Eusebius does not mention her name in connexion with these discoveries; but Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoritus,[3] and other subsequent writers, relate that the excavations about the site of Calvary were made by Helena, (in 326); and that the discovery of three crosses, with the inscription in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, beside them, was the result. The question to whom the crosses respectively belonged arose; and their efficacy in the working of miracles having been tried, on the suggestion of Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, that of the Saviour was distinctly and gloriously revealed. It healed a sick person to whom it was applied, while the others had no such power.

Such is the sum of the information which we possess of the

[1] λήθη τι καὶ ἀγνοία. Euseb. Vit. Constant. iii. 26.

[2] Ibid. iii. 30.

[3] Socrat. i. 17; Rufin. i. 7; Sozomen, ii. 1; Theodorit. i. 18.

doings of Constantine and his mother Helena, in the alleged discovery of the holy sepulchre and the holy cross. It is obviously far from being of a satisfactory character. Eusebius, who flourished at the time when the cross is said to have been discovered, says not a word respecting such an event, though, had it occurred, as mentioned by subsequent writers, he could scarcely have failed to give it special notice in his history. As he shows no indisposition to praise Helena, as is evident from the commendation which he bestows on her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and her erection of churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives,[1] it may be supposed that had he known her to be the person who discovered the sepulchre and the cross, he would have mentioned the fact so much calculated to exalt her in the eyes of the world. The Bourdeaux pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in 333, takes no notice of the cross, though he does not fail to mention some minor objects and legends, as the "cave in which Solomon tormented the devils," the corner of the tower to which our Lord was taken by the tempter, the couch from which Solomon dispensed his wisdom, the cave in which our Lord was interred, and the wonderfully beautiful church erected over it by Constantine.[2] Cyril, who became bishop of Jerusalem in 348, speaks of the cross having been found under Constantine, that is, as Dr. Robinson mentions, prior to his death, A. D. 338.[3] Jerome, in 404, also mentions its existence; but, though writing in the Holy Land, these authors don't connect it either with Helena or the sepulchre. Her actual concern with it, then, unless we view her, perhaps, as the agent of Constantine in her exploratory labours, we may be allowed to question. The account given of the mode of its identification, and the

[1] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 42, 43.

[2] Itiner. Hierosol. Wesselling, p. 589, et seq.

[3] Bibliotheca Sacra, i. p. 160.

miraculous powers with which it was endowed, are totally unworthy of credit.[1]

Allowing, for the sake of argument, that the discoveries of the sepulchre, and of the cross so called, were promulgated at the same time, the one may be viewed as throwing light upon the other. There must have been gross delusion, or rather gross fraud, connected with the allegations respecting the cross; and similar delusion and fraud may have existed, and have been practised, connected with the alleged discovery of the sepulchre. Even though it may be reasonably admitted that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, towards the latter end of the reign of Constantine, had a general tradition respecting the true place of our Lord's interment, it must be borne in mind that the ecclesiastics of that time,—

[1] Dr. Robinson, in an able article in the Bibliotheca Sacra, gives the following condensed view of the story of the cross:—"Ambrose in Alexandria, and Chrysostom in Constantinople, about A. D. 395, both mention three crosses, not one; and say that the true cross was known by the title which Pilate had fixed upon it. About A. D. 400, Paulinus in Italy, and Sulpicius in Gaul, speak of the three crosses, and affirm that the true one was distinguished from the other two by the fact of its restoring a corpse to life. Rufinus in Italy, also about A. D. 400, says that the inscription was detached from the cross, and that the person restored was not a corpse, but a female at the point of death. The three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, who flourished about A. D. 440, the former at Antioch and the latter at Constantinople, all accord with the account of Rufinus."—Bib. Sac. pp. 160, 161. Dr. Robinson, in the last of these references, follows the statement of Mr. Newman in his "Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles." It is well remarked by a vigorous writer in the North British Review, with regard to "St. Macarius's Holy Cross," that "the inconsistencies—the impudent patchings—the lying style of the narratives of the invention—the enormity of the demand it makes upon miraculous agency—the bad purposes of priestly ambition which it subserved at the moment—and the endless frauds to which it has given rise—are altogether much more than enough to carry a resentful conviction to the mind of every man that is open at all to conviction. In fact, the fable has been abandoned by every body who dares abandon it; and it is adhered to by those only who have persuaded themselves that, to trample their own reason in the dust, and to prostitute their talents, their learning, and their reputation in the service of 'the Church,'—even when the Church flagrantly lies,—is an offering and a self-sacrifice acceptable to God!"—N. B. Rev. vol. ii. p. 525.

most of whom were foreigners,—might not scruple, for the accomplishment of their own ends, to overlook the popular understanding, and urge in opposition to it, with the influence and authority of office, their own decision. Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, may have had some inklings of the intentions of Constantine as to the erection of a church upon the sepulchre about which he inquired; and he may have wished his cathedral to have a site rather within the bounds of the old Jerusalem, than over one of the tombs in its neighbourhood, to which a controllable tradition may have pointed as the real receptacle of our Lord's body. It may have been an object with him, or with those who acted for Constantine, or Helena, to have had the heathen temple—said to have existed at the place where the church of the Holy Sepulchre now stands—swept away by the besom of destruction; and the search for the sepulchre may have been commenced at this site for the accomplishment of this object. The matter may be looked at in another aspect. The actual spot of our Lord's interment may have been lost sight of, or forgotten, by the Christians of Jerusalem before the days of Constantine, and the excavations and explorations made for its discovery may have been merely tentative. The early disciples of Christ, it is obvious from the New Testament, were more occupied with the contemplation of the great events of Christ's ministry, and the marvellous facts of his sufferings and lowest humiliation, than with the survey or commemoration of the exact spots which were associated either with his life or death. The place in which the ashes of a venerated teacher may have continued to rest, was more likely to be externally marked than that grave in which the body of the blessed Saviour had been without seeing corruption, and which had yielded its charge on the morning of his resurrection. Contemporaneous generations are not always the first to hallow the places of historical association. The community

of Christians retired from Jerusalem to Pella, beyond the Jordan, during the awful calamities which were connected with the Jewish wars, and the destruction of Jerusalem; and at what time they returned, and in what state they found the different localities at Jerusalem on their re-establishment there, if they did return as a body, we are not informed.

We here reason hypothetically; but when topography and history seem in any degree at variance, as in the case of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, hypotheses are warrantable. The traditions connected with the *loca sancta* in the Holy Land, are so utterly opposed to Scripture and authentic history in many instances, that the traveller is tempted to discard them altogether. While these traditions point to the summit of the Mount of Olives as the place from which our Lord ascended to heaven—while Scripture informs us that he led out his disciples as far as to Bethany, (ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν,) a mile beyond that summit, before he was carried up into heaven, we do not direct attention to a new feature of their character, when we say that they may err in the allocation of the place of our Lord's sepulture.

With the CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, the site of which forms the subject of so much discussion, we commenced our visits to the more remarkable LOCALITIES WITHIN THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM. That church is a large and imposing building; and though, as it now stands, it is not that first erected on its site by Constantine, it is so much associated with the religion, superstition, and fanaticism of Asia and Europe for many centuries, as it is in the present day, that the traveller is irresistibly drawn to its inspection and examination. The visits which we paid to it were sufficiently distressing and humiliating.

The situation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre will be understood by the reader when he casts his eye on the "Plan of Jerusalem." When we were slowly going down one of

the lanes to the court in front of it to the south, we were ordered to make way for a procession, headed by the Reverendissimo, or the chief Franciscan monk, and the Austrian consul general, and formed of various official and non-official personages and persons, proceeding by quick march on a ceremonious visit to this famous building. A voice behind us exclaimed, "Re, Re, Aj, baḍá tamáshá honá," "*Bravo, bravo, we are to have fine fun to-day.*" We were quite startled with this familiar ejaculation, associated in our minds with all the madness and mischief of a heathen Jattrá. The correctness of its application to the scenes and services of the so-called Christian pilgrimage of Jerusalem, our own observation soon taught us to admit. It proceeded from a Muhammadan from the north of India, who was squatted at the side of the lane in which we were, with a few trinkets for sale spread out before him. It was addressed to a fellow-countryman of the same creed, in a position similar to his own. He was astonished here to find Franks able to understand him and converse with him; and, in reply to our inquiries, he gave us some curious information respecting a small colony of Indian Muhammadans, long settled in Jerusalem, but hitherto unknown to our countrymen. A number of the Indian pilgrims who visit Mecca and Medina, find their way to Jerusalem to review its sanctities, and are contented to remain there to spend their lives. Some of them marry the native Musalmáns; but they live in a particular part of the town by themselves. They are well treated by the Turkish authorities, from whom they occasionally receive rations of grain and rice. Among their number, he said, were about twenty-five subjects by birth of our gracious Queen Victoria. We brought them to the notice of her Majesty's consul, Mr. Young, who doubtless would be prompt to extend protection to them in time of need, if their Islamic pride will permit them to demand it.

A still greater number of persons of the same description, we afterwards learned, have squatted themselves among the paradisiacal gardens of Damascus. The philosophy by which they are guided in this preference of Syria, is simply this :—the *hawá pání,* or wind and water, of Hind are good; but those of Shám are better. Hind is the land of infidels; Syria, of true believers.[1]

In the front of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, there is a large court paved with flags, with some of the appendages of the principal buildings at each of its sides. This place we found nearly filled with pilgrims. Some score or two of men and women, selling the articles which I have mentioned as manufactured at Bethlehem, were ranged along its western side.[2] The appearance of the place and people was that of a market. The front view of the church is striking and imposing, though the architecture is scarcely of any peculiar or symmetrical character. The doors and windows have pointed Saracenic arches. Of the former, there are two, but one of them has been built up for many years. There are two large, and one or two small, cupolas over the buildings. Though considerable injury was done to the fabric by fire a few years ago, it has much the appearance of what is represented in the first authentic drawing which we have of it, that procured by Breydenbach.[3]

To the left of the porch, on our entrance, we found the Turkish guards seated and standing. They allowed us to pass without making any exaction. The first object to which our attention was directed is the "Stone of Unction," on which, it is held by the ecclesiastics, our Lord's body was anointed. It is of foreign marble, and manifestly apocry-

[1] The celebrity of Syria among Muhammadans is scarcely, if any thing, inferior to that of the Hajáz in Arabia. Some notices of it, illustrative of their notions, I give in the second volume.

[2] See above, p. 398.

[3] Peregrinat. Hierosol. fol. 20.

phal. Close to this, on the right, we have the veritable tombs of the Christian kings Godfrey and Baldwin, and *mirabile dictu vel visu*, that of Melchisedec! Entering the church,—before we are permitted to look around us,—we are placed in the Centre of the World, the "medium mundi secundum Græcos." Worship is here being conducted to a moving and muttering assemblage, the priests glibing over the prayers with the speed of lightning. Unable to give our response, we pass through the "imperial arch" to the grand circle by which the sepulchre is surrounded. Crowds of men and women and children are here collected together. Some are scanning the fabric with the eye of a bewildered curiosity. Some are impressing on its portals and walls the ardent kiss of sincere or pretended affection and respect. Some are casting themselves before it in lowly prostration. Some, devout Abyssinians, are repeating their prayers with seeming earnestness. There is a great pressure at the door, though one or two of the Franciscan monks, by threats and gesticulations, and sometimes by blows, are striving to promote order. In our turn, we enter within the sanctum. We had only a minute or two allowed us for examining the fabric; for such to the eye at least it appears to be, there being nothing visible but the marble walls, brought from some distant country. It may be alleged, however, that the marble which we see is only a facing to the natural rock, which, if this be the case, is concealed in the very worst taste. Within the sepulchre are two small apartments. In the centre of the outer one, the place is marked where the "stone was rolled from our Lord's sepulchre." In the second, there is standing-room for three or four persons before a kind of sarcophagus or altar, also of foreign marble, which, it is said, occupies the place where "our Lord lay." In our lack of faith in its identity as the spot mentioned in Scripture, it has no associations to us favourable to devotion; while the

manifest idolatrous regard extended to it by thousands, who come to prostrate themselves before it from the ends of the earth, moves our deepest compassion. From this western part of the buildings, we are hurried along through the crowds by our guides, to various other places of note, which have been discovered in a state of convenient proximity to one another. Here our attention is directed to the tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus; there, to the exact spots where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene and to his mother, and where they respectively stood when they beheld our Lord. Here we enter the chapel of Longinus the centurion; and the chapels of the parting of our Lord's garments, and of the place where those stood who mocked him on the cross. Descending a flight of forty-nine steps, we are in the eastern part of the buildings called the Church of the Holy Cross, where we find the chapels of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, and the penitent thief; and, after an additional thirteen steps, we are at the place of the "*invention* of the cross." Returning to the entrance of the buildings, we find the ascent to "Calvary," a locality which, if genuine, would in its sacred associations be the most overwhelming on the face of the globe. The very spot where the cross was planted is pointed out, without any hesitation or dubiety. A small crevice in the rock, in which there is nothing more remarkable than is seen in hundreds of cavities in all parts of the cretaceous strata of the country, is declared to be one of the rents caused by the earthquake which took place when our Lord was crucified. Imposture and credulity have found the whole congeries of "holy places" connected with our Lord's crucifixion, interment, and resurrection, in this building, which has been profanely called the "Temple of the Lord," the "New Jerusalem!" I envy not the feelings of the Protestant, who can survey them with feelings of anything like complacency or satisfaction.

Overlooking the traditions of the edifice, we paid some little attention to its distribution among the various sects of Eastern Christians. The porch near the entrance, and the space surrounding the Holy Sepulchre, are common to all. None are excluded from the other sacred localities, although they are under the charge of distinct communities. The Greeks occupy the greater portion of the building, including the large church; and they reckon it a high privilege, for which they are ready to contend to the death, to adorn it and keep it in repair.[1] The Latins and Armenians come next in point of possession; and their appropriations are nearly of equal extent. The Latins, however, claim the sole privilege of performing public mass over the tomb of Christ, the key of which is in their possession, but never used by them except in the presence of a Greek monk. The Syrians, Copts, Abyssinians, Nestorians, Georgians, and Maronites have small chapels, or altar-pieces, where they perform their public services. The most unseemly contentions frequently break out among these communities, even when they tread those courts, which, they say, have been formed for the commemoration of the reconciliation of God to man.

I have alluded to the crowding and confusion which we witnessed on our entrance. It ceased not while we remained within. The noise and bustle of the priests and people; the levity and formality on the one hand, and the theatrical affectation of devotion and reverence on the other, of great multitudes of the pilgrims; the idolatrous recognition, by nearly the whole masses, of the alleged sacred spots, and invocation of saints and angels; the innumerable prostrations before images, pictures, and ecclesiastics; and the hope of pardon, indulgence, and merit, which was swelling the breasts

[1] Mr. Bartlett, an accomplished and Christian-minded artist, the author of the interesting Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem, characterizes "their church as full of tawdriness and bad painting, redolent of vulgar superstition."—P. 185.

of all, who implicitly believe in the doctrine of their degraded churches, made us feel as if we had been transported from Jerusalem, and carried back to the great land of heathenism in which we had so long sojourned. More affecting scenes of superstition and delusion, we scarcely remembered to have seen in that dark land. If we mourned and wept over the ruins of the natural Zion, when it first presented itself to our view, shorn of all its glory, and ploughed as a field, we still more mourned and wept over the desolations of the spiritual Zion at Jerusalem. Viewing what we witnessed as its representative, Ezekiel's chambers of imagery were its appropriate type. We seemed to realize it as a fact, that we were literally in "Sodom where the Lord was crucified." Let none of my readers accuse us of a want of charity, either in the feelings which we experienced, or in the expression of them which I now make. What little we observed appropriate in the demeanour of a few of the many who before us were professing to hold communion with God, we contemplated with satisfaction and respect; and against no sincere worshipper of the Saviour, however mistaken as to localities and events, do I breathe a single complaint. I here make no attempt to describe the worst of the scenes which are annually witnessed in connexion with the pilgrimage.[1]

After what we observed at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and what we knew of the carelessness and recklessness with which different places have been identified as those mentioned in the Gospel narrative, we had but little inclination to visit more of the reputed sacred places and ecclesiastical buildings of the CHRISTIANS within the walls of Jerusalem. Nevertheless a considerable number of them fell in our way. To some of them I refer in the sections of this work devoted to the Eastern Churches, which are con-

[1] The fraud of the holy fire, however, I bring to notice in the article on the Greek Church, in the second volume of this work.

tained in the second volume. A few general notices only I may here introduce.

The Greeks have eight convents for men, and five for women, in Jerusalem. In that called Demetrius, which is the most spacious of these edifices, the body of the monks usually reside. Among these recluses are found several of the bishops of the patriarchate, who never visit their peculiar sees. One of them is the Wakîl, or vicar, of the patriarch who usually resides at the capital of the Turkish empire, where it is supposed his influence is most needed to secure the interests of the community over which he presides. About thirty monks, in their turn, live in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, that they may be ready to perform the daily services. Altogether there are about a hundred Greek monks in Jerusalem. It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that they are all foreigners, principally from the Greek islands, and that no natives of Syria are permitted to join their fraternity. The exclusion of the Arab Christians is said to have arisen, about two centuries ago, from their immoral and disorderly conduct, and the combinations into which they entered to acquire the mastery over their foreign brethren. On the other hand, no foreign members of the Greek Church are allowed to officiate as secular clergy; and the usual services of the two churches without the entrance of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the members of the Greek rite usually assemble for worship, are conducted by native Christians. Several of the Greek monasteries at Jerusalem are devoted principally to the accommodation and entertainment of pilgrims. The Georgians, who are in union with the Greek Church, have no convent of their own within Jerusalem. That called the Deir el-Maṣallabah, lying a little to the S.W. of the city, is their property. It receives its name from the absurd conjecture that it covers the spot where the wood of the cross of our Saviour was reared! It

is supposed to have been first erected by Tatian, the Iberian king, so early as the fifth century.[1]

The Armenian convent and church of St. James, are the largest in Jerusalem. They occupy a very considerable part of Mount Zion. There is said to be accommodation in the convent for about two or three thousand pilgrims,—the average number of the sons of Haik supposed to visit Jerusalem annually at the time of Easter. The accommodations are fitted up for persons in various ranks of society. We were kindly invited by the patriarch's secretary to make our choice of them; but, as I have already mentioned, we lived in Jerusalem with an Arab Christian of the Greek Church. The Armenians resident in the town are estimated at not more than two hundred. They are principally merchants and agents.

The Syrians occupy an ancient monastery, which is supposed to have been the house of Mark. It is on ground belonging to them, which is said to have been confiscated by the Turks, that the English church of St. James is being erected.

The Copts, who got their first footing in Jerusalem when it was subject to the Egyptian Khalífs, possess a large convent called the Deir es-Sulṭán, contiguous to the Holy Sepulchre, which, like several of the secondary convents in Egypt, is presided over by a married priest, and a smaller one dedicated to St. George, contiguous to the pool of Hezekiah. During the sway of Muḥammad Alí in the Holy Land, they set upon the erection of a new edifice, which, on the expulsion of his troops, they were led to abandon. They are very few in number, and they are visited by few of their countrymen. They afford shelter to the pilgrims who come from distant Abyssinia, and who are in strict community

[1] Williams' Holy City, p. 449.

with the Coptic Church. Along with the Jacobites, they look principally for protection from the Armenians, who, like themselves, are nominally the supporters of the monophysite doctrines.

The BAZARS of Jerusalem, which we may now notice, are nearly in the centre of the town, and not far distant from the church of the Holy Sepulchre. They run from north to south. The articles sold in them are principally clothes and provisions. In appearance they are exactly similar to the usual market-places in the Turkish empire. When I was passing through them one day, the Rev. Mr. Ewald, of the English Mission at Jerusalem, directed my attention to some capitals and shafts of pillars, and other fragments of ancient masonry, imbedded in their pavement. The bázárs were much crowded during my first visit to Jerusalem, owing to the influx of pilgrims; but they seemed little frequented on my return. The shopkeepers are principally Christians. Speaking of the population of Syria in general, Dr. Bowring in his official report addressed to Lord Palmerston, says—"The Mussulman population are seldom associated with the progress of arts or industry, and, though possessing the influence which belongs to the ruling authorities, are rarely instrumental in the creation of capital, or the diffusion of civilization. Most of the commercial establishments are either in the hands of the Christian or Jewish population."[1]

Passing from the bázárs to the south-east portion of Zion, which is still inhabited, we come to the JEWISH QUARTER, certainly not the most interesting in its external appearance. This is not so much owing to any want of cleanliness on the part of its occupants, as to the crowded state of the buildings in which they live, and to its proximity to the public shambles, which have been fixed there for many years by the

[1] Report on Syria, p. 7.

Turks, for the purpose, it is alleged, of annoying and degrading the Jews. With the interesting people who inhabit this quarter of the city, I had much important business, during my stay at Jerusalem, and almost daily intercourse.

The Jews of Jerusalem may be divided into three classes, the Ashkenazim, the Sephardim, and the Karaim.

The Ashkenazim, known among Europeans by the name of the German Jews, are divided into two sects, the Peroshim, or Pharisees, and the Khásidim, or Puritans. With a few exceptions, they are not natives of Jerusalem, but religious devotees who have resorted to the Holy City from the different countries of Europe, to end their days among the desolations of Zion, and to enjoy the privilege of burial among the graves of their fathers in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Most of them are natives of Poland and Germany, and a few are from England. In general, they are very poor; and as they avoid secular employment, they are almost entirely dependent on the alms which are collected in their behalf in the different countries of Europe. They number, however, a few families in good circumstances, who are very careful to avoid any unnecessary display of their substance, lest they should excite the cupidity of the Turks, or encourage charitable demands upon themselves which they may not be able to answer. They all enjoy the protection of the respective European consulates in Syria; and they are seldom interfered with by the native government. As they originally belong to different European nations, and have different political relations, they have no civil head belonging to their own community.

The Peroshim have two synagogues, one of which seems a private concern; and they are about to rebuild another of some magnitude, which has long been lying in ruins. They have adopted means for collecting subscriptions for this erection in different parts of the world. They embrace

all known by the name of the Ashkenazim, or German Jews, previous to the rise of the Khásidim in Gallicia, who are but a modern sect. They estimated themselves to us at about 600 souls.

The Khásidim are reckoned at about 100, including some visitors from Safed and Tiberias, where the members of their sect principally reside. They are enthusiastic and superstitious to a degree passing with many of them into absolute fanaticism; and their worship is accompanied with as much agitation and violent gesticulation as if they thought that they could take heaven literally by storm. They consider great excitement essential to the existence of true devotion. I have been told by a friend, that an established maxim with them is the Talmudic proverb, אֵין הַשְּׁכִינָה שׁוֹרָה אֶלָּא בְּמָקוֹם שִׂמְחָה "The Shechinah does not appear but in the place of joy." They are extremely scrupulous in the observance of their self-invented rites and ceremonies, and suppose themselves possessed of much more sanctity than their brethren. Their chief they view as a perfect saint, and they give him the name of Zadik, the "righteous," and believe that he has direct communication with superhuman beings. They believe in the Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and they are great students of the Cabala, and particularly of the Sohar, its principal authority.[1] We heard of nothing dis-

[1] Mr. Ewald gives some curious information respecting some of their practices. "Their chief Rabbi here is Moses Ben Aaron. They occupy themselves in writing charms, in which they place great confidence. The following is one of them. When they wish to discover any secret they conjure the angels to appear before them in the following manner:— Three days before the new moon they abstain from all strong drink, they go before sunrise to the baths; they then take two white turtle-doves and kill them with a two-edged knife made of copper, each dove is killed by one edge, the inside is taken out and washed in water; some old wine, with incense and honey, is then laid upon them; they are then cut in pieces, and before daybreak laid upon burning coals. The conjuror himself is dressed in clean white linen clothes; he stands before the burning clothes, and whilst the smoke is ascending, he mentions the names

orderly in their conduct toward their brethren. They have two small synagogues, one of which is the house of Rabbi Israel, an influential member of their community, who has set up a printing establishment in the Holy City.[1] This individual, whom we saw at work, is a very ingenious and enterprising man. One of his presses is of his own construction; and the other, a Columbian press, is the gift of Sir Moses Montefiore of London. He is said to have cut and cast his types at Jerusalem. His printing is good on the whole, but his binding is wretched. We purchased a few of the works from him which he has published. They principally consist of portions of the Jewish liturgy. He was proud to show us in one of them a prayer in behalf of Her gracious Majesty Victoria, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Sephardim are the most numerous body of Jews in the Holy City, amounting according to their own census, as they informed us, to 700 families and 3000 souls. Most of them are natives of the different countries comprehended in the Turkish empire; and some of their families have, for

of those angels who minister during that month; this he does three times. On the third day he gathers the ashes together, places them in the middle of the room, lays himself upon them, and sleeps. He is then certain that the angels will come and reveal to him what he desires.

"The following prayer, written on parchment, and worn on the left side, is the charm for prosperity in business:—'May it please thee, O Lord God of Israel, to give charge to the following angels to go into the house of N——, the son of N——, to go with him, and to make him prosper in all his undertakings, by day or by night, at home or abroad; in thy name, in thy holy zeal, make prosperous N——, the son of N——. Amen, Selah.'

"By writing such and similar charms, the Chasidim have procured a great name for themselves. They pretend to know the number of angels, with their names, their various occupations and services, and how to make them appear before them whenever they wish.

"Who does not pity this benighted sect, who put their trust in falsehood? What Christian can hear of their gross superstition, and not exclaim, 'Lord, have mercy upon them!'"—Missionary Labours in Jerusalem, pp. 113, 114.

[1] A few years ago he carried on his printing operations at Safed.

two or three generations, been settled in Jerusalem. They are almost all subjects of the Porte; and their chief Rábbi, called the Hákim Páshá, exercises civil authority among them, with the permission and support of the government. An honorary guard of soldiers, at the time of our visit to his residence, was stationed at his door. He is responsible for all the taxes levied on the community over which he presides, and has several clerks in his employment. His influence extends more or less over all the Sephardim Jews of the country. He lives in circumstances of considerable worldly comfort. The interior of his dwelling we found remarkably clean and orderly; but, like the other residences of the Jews at the time of our visit, it had undergone various ablutions and purifications with a view to the celebration of the passover, which was at hand. In the arrangement of its diwáns and couches, it was exactly similar to the houses of the Turks and town Arabs, which have been often described. The reception which he gave us was kind and cordial; and he very readily answered all the questions which we addressed to him. He gave us an account of the distribution of the Jews in the Holy Land—which I elsewhere notice—which we afterwards found tolerably correct. Of the Samaritans at Shechem, his knowledge was less accurate. "It is a curious fact," he said, "that they are always thirty-nine in number; they know no increase and no decrease!" In his library, which is of considerable extent, we found a large number of Hebrew manuscripts, some of which appeared to be of considerable antiquity. When I began to examine him about the opinions of the Jews of various geographical questions connected with the Holy Land, he referred me for information to the *Khaftor va-Ferach*, a work of which he gave me the loan, and from which, as I observed, many valuable geographical gleanings can be collected.[1] From his house, we

[1] For an account of the author of the Khaftor va-Ferach, see Mr. Asher's translation of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, vol. ii. p. 260. A judicious

went along with some of his attendants to the Sephardim synagogues. They are quite contiguous to one another, forming, in fact, parts of the same pile of building. The Jews worship in them according to the respective countries from which they come. The Jewish service which was being conducted in them, at the time of our visit, was not proceeding in the most orderly manner, though certainly with more decorum than we afterwards witnessed in the eastern Christian churches. The most affecting sight which we saw among them was that of a poor blind man, who was repeating his prayers with all his might. The Rabbis who were reading the law from the תֵּבָה (or תִּיבָה,) the reading-desk, respectfully invited us to take our station behind them; and we complied with their wishes. When at the close, I was about to copy some of the inscriptions on the walls of the synagogues, they offered to provide for me a representation and transcript of the whole, which in due time they put into my possession. It is headed צורות בתי כנסיות של ירושלים תובב, "Plans of the Houses of Assemblies at Jerusalem." ("Let it be built and erected speedily in our days."[1]) The inscriptions are similar to those at Hebron, which I have already noticed. The *Yishvioth*, or establishments for study, are twenty-five in number.

At the time of our visit to Jerusalem, we found only five adult males belonging to the Karaim, (*Caraites,*) or Textuarians, who interpret Scripture, as they allege, as the name implies, according to the manifest meaning of the reading, and not according to the rumours of uncertain tradition. The notices of the peculiarities of the sect, which I intend

and excellent analysis of the work, which was finished, A. D. 1322, is given by Dr. Zunz in his interesting paper "on the Geography of Palestine from Jewish sources," edited by Mr. Asher, as an appendix to Rabbi Benjamin.

[1] This prayer, it will be observed, is expressed by the artificial word תובב, commonly affixed by the Jews to Jerusalem, and itself forming a contraction for תִּבָּנֶה וְתִתְכּוֹנֵן בִּמְהֵרָה בְיָמֵינוּ, applied to the temple.

to give, I dispose of under the head of the Jews of Egypt, the country in which they probably first originated. It is remarkable that there are so few of them in the Holy City, for one of the names by which they are known is that of *Jerusalemites*, which they derive from their strict devotedness to the exercise of bewailing the desolations of Zion. The Sephardim Jews, who spoke very contemptuously and hatefully of them to us, represented them as Sadducees; but both the name and tenets of this sect they utterly disclaim. In fact, one of the ten articles of their creed recognises the doctrine of the resurrection and judgment. Basnage, Wolfius, Triglandius, and other Hebraists, have most distinctly shown that they have no connexion with the Sadducees.[1]

For a general account of the views and feelings with which the Jews of Jerusalem, and other places, regard the Holy Land, I refer my reader to the second volume of this work. As they have resorted to the country solely from religious motives, they consider it quite derogatory to their personal holiness and dignity to engage in any avoidable secular employment. They have to sanction the existence of a few shops, and the practice, by a few individuals, of such handicrafts as are necessary for the accommodation of their families. One of their number is allowed by favour to act as a lapidary. He cuts very beautiful Hebrew seals, which are in less demand at Jerusalem than the useless trinkets which are manufactured under the auspices of the monks. We gave him a considerable commission, and he quite satisfied us with his workmanship. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;" "The Lord bless thee out of Zion;" "Let Jerusalem come into mind," are the favourite and appropriate mottos

[1] Basnage's History of the Jews. Wolfii Notitiae Karæorum. Triglandii Diatribe de secta Karæorum, in var. loc. For the creed of the Karaites, see Trig. Diat. p. 283, etc.

which he engraves. He cut a beautiful crystal for me which we had brought from Mount Sinai, with peculiar care. It is now not one of the least valued gems in a royal cabinet. The Jewish women are remarkably industrious in sewing, knitting, and other household labours, and take the greatest care at the same time of the young members of their families. Several of them were introduced to us in their houses, and quite pleased us by their modest confidence, which well contrasted itself with the shrinking timidity of their Muhammadan sisters. The Jews pride themselves in the excellence of the apparel of their women, and several of them were dressed in a superior style in the oriental fashion—I should rather say form, for fashions happily are scarcely known in the east.

The locality of Jerusalem most frequently visited by the Jews is their "Place of Wailing," the כּוֹתֶל מַעֲרָבִי or western wall of the enclosure of the Ḥaram, called by them the הַר בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, "the Hill of the Holy House." The particular spot selected by them for their lamentations is about a third of the distance of the wall from its south-west corner. The stones, though not so large as those in the eastern wall, are nevertheless of great magnitude, and bear marks of high antiquity. The Jews, from time immemorial, have considered them the workmanship of their fathers; and there can be little doubt that they are not mistaken in this opinion.

When we were with the Jews at Jerusalem, we proceeded to examine them as to their opinions respecting the site of the temple and its different courts; and they presented me with both an engraving and drawing illustrative of their views. Neither of these devices has been made with much regard to topographical accuracy. Some of their general indications, however, I may mention. The mosk of 'Omar, in perfect concurrence with the Jewish, Christian, and Muhammadan traditions, they represent as occupying the site

of the temple; and the mosk el-Aksá as covering that of the מִדְרָשׁ שְׁלֹמֹה, or "supplementary building," or "porch," or "college," of Solomon. To the gate now built up, on the east of the Haram, they give the name of the "Gate of Mercy."

What is meant in these plans by the *Midrâsh* of Solomon, I do not exactly understand. The Jews told me that it designates Solomon's entry, and the throne where the king sat surveying the courts of the Israelites, on the days of the assembly of the people.[1] They were included, they added, within the ancient enclosures of the temple.

[1] The following passage, quoted by Taylor in his Fragments from the Universal History, throws some light, I think, on the views of the Jews, so far as I could gather them in conversation. "Let us return to the temple by the terrace-gate. Here we find the covert for the Sabbath, and the king's entry adjoining to it. . . . . We must form to ourselves somewhat of an idea of this covert. . . . . We must look for what may relate to it among those things built by Solomon in the temple. At the time of its dedication, we find (2 Chron. vi. 13) he 'had made a brazen scaffold' (Heb. *kior*) 'of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and set it up in the midst of the court; and upon it he stood,'—and so on. Here it is easy to imagine a raised-up place, where stood the king. . . . We shall try to distinguish every part that made up this royal seat.

"First.—We take notice of the base or column; for it is said of Joash, when he was proclaimed king, (2 Kings xi. 14,) 'He stood upon the pillar,' . . . 'according to the manner,' that is, as the kings were used to do in the temple, in their usual place, or throne. . . . This same pillar the king stood upon is, even in our translation, (2 Chron. xxxiv. 31,) called 'his place wherein he stood.' It is plainly to be seen that this place was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the Israelites, in their court, in the midst of which the sacred historian has fixed the throne, before the altar, 2 Chron. vi. 13. . . . . There also it was young Joash was seated in all the pomp of a king at his inauguration. So the historian says, (2 Chron. xxiii. 13,) 'The king stood upon his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets,' &c. Our translation here again is, 'stood at his pillar;' but we do not choose to vary where the text is uniform.

"Secondly.—Upon this pillar was a sort of alcove, or small gallery, made, as we have hinted above, much in the same shape as our pulpits. . . .

"Thirdly.—The *kior* seems to have been covered, as is at present the throne of our king, and for this reason it was called *musac*, which may be explained by canopy, or cloth of state; this third part denominating the two first. . .

Ali Bey, who was the first European traveller of this century who entered the Haram, to which, in connexion with the Jews, I now direct attention, informs us, that according to his estimate, its area is composed of a large court, the length of which is 1369 feet, and the breadth 845. The Musalmán history, he adds, assigns to the ancient temple of the Jews a length of 750 Pík Stambuli, or cubits of Constantinople, and a breadth of 450; that is to say, 1563 feet 3 inches (French measure) in length, and 938 feet 3 inches in breadth.[1] The Muhammadan history is in this case more correct than the Spanish traveller. The measurement from without of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Eli Smith nearly agrees with the history. "The length of this enclosure on the east side, measured externally along the wall, is 1528 English feet, or nearly 510 yards; the breadth at the south end is 955 feet, or about 318 yards. Neither the western side nor the northern end is accessible externally, yet the latter may be measured approximately along the parallel street. Its length is thus found to be not far from 1060 feet, or perhaps 350 yards; the breadth of the area being here some yards greater than on the south."[2] A measurement made internally, in more advantageous circumstances than any of the preceding, is that of Mr. Catherwood in 1833. "The length of the east wall is 1520 feet, of the south wall 940 feet, of the west wall, 1617 feet, and of the north 1020, and the

"It will now be proper to show the agreement between what we have been speaking of, and the king's entry without. In order to do this, it will be needful to consider what is written in the New Testament concerning Solomon's porch. Christ used to walk there in the temple, (John x. 23;) the Apostles were all with one accord there also, (Acts v. 12;) and all the people ran together unto them in the porch which is called Solomon's, (Acts iii. 11.) Now, that this king had built such a porch, Josephus acknowledges, (Antiq. lib. xx. c. 8, and Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 5,) but places it eastward, which seems to be an error, unless he meant that it went westward, is true in our opinion."—Biblical Fragments, vol. i. pp. 498, 499.

[1] Travels of 'Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 215.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 419.

walls stand at right angles only at one point, the south-west corner."[1] "Consequently, speaking mathematically, the area of the temple could never have been square. This is supposing always that the old east, south, and south-west walls occupied the directions of the present ones." As far as the masonry of the walls gives any indication, it would seem —at first sight, at any rate—to intimate that no change has taken place in the direction of the walls. "*The lower courses of the masonry of ancient walls,*" it is correctly stated by Mr. Catherwood, "exist on the east, south, and west sides of the great enclosure, *for nearly its whole length and breadth;* and the north side is distinguished by a wall on the brink of a deep trench, and at the north-west inner angle, by the rock being cut perpendicularly to an extent of twenty feet in some parts."[2] In connexion with this statement, it deserves to be noticed that the Mosk of 'Omar, which, it is allowed, covers the site of the temple, properly so called, stands about equidistant from the northern and southern walls.

The measurements to which I have now referred do not agree with the statements, either of Josephus or of the ancient Rabbis, as quoted by Lightfoot and Prideaux, who unite in representing the great enclosure as a square. "The hill," says the Jewish historian, "was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, each angle (or side) containing in length a furlong," about 204 yards. The Rabbins state the side of the square at 500 cubits.

To reconcile the statements of Josephus and the Talmud with the present topography of the Haram, various suggestions have been submitted. "The discrepancy," says Dr. Robinson, "may in part be accounted for, by supposing the ancient specifications to refer to the *interior open space*

[1] Bartlett's Walks, p. 174. [2] Ibid.

*surrounded by the broad porticos within the walls.*" "Yet," he adds, "the discrepancy is here too great to be accounted for in any other way than by supposing that *the present enclosure has been enlarged towards the north.* This has not improbably been done by including within its walls the area of the ancient fortress Antonia." "The supposition therefore is, that the fortress Antonia occupied the whole breadth of the northern part of the present enclosure."[1] This theory is, I think, scarcely tenable. If we cut off a space for the fort of Antonia from the northern part of the Haram, we bring the northern wall too near the actual site of the temple, and place it at a distance disproportionately great from the southern wall. Josephus informs us that "Antonia was situated *at the corner* at which the north and west cloisters joined the exterior of the temple; it was erected upon *a rock* of fifty cubits in height, and steep all round."[2] The rock at the north-west corner of the Haram, as we have seen from a quotation just made from Mr. Catherwood, instead of being elevated, as we should expect to find it according to Dr. Robinson's theory, is cut away to such a considerable depth, that the solid wall at its angles rises to an extent of twenty feet. It is most natural to suppose that the fortress of Antonia, as it came in contact with the temple area, crowned these walls, and thus appeared, on these sides at least, to stand on the height mentioned by Josephus. It is true, as noted by Dr. Robinson, that Josephus mentions that a deep artificial fosse separated Antonia from the hill Bezetha, lying to the north of the temple,[3] and that we can scarcely fail to associate this fact with the fosse generally denominated the Pool of Bethesda;[4] but it must be remembered that we are not acquainted with the course of the present

[1] Bib. Res. vol. i. pp. 431, 433.
[2] Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. v. 8. See above, p. 412.
[3] Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. iv. 2.
[4] See above, p. 415.

fosse toward the west. For anything we know, it may turn, a little in advance of the place to which it can now be traced, somewhat to the north, and then afterwards to the west, so as to enclose the site of the fortress of Antonia standing to the N.W. of the temple area. It was not likely that the temple wall, where it was not protected by the tower Antonia, should be left without the advantage of a fosse; and this may be the reason of the continuance of the fosse along the northern side of the temple area. That the fortress Antonia did not cover all the northern side of this area, as supposed by Dr. Robinson, appears from various incidental notices of Josephus.[1] The northern part of the Haram, then, notwithstanding Dr. Robinson's argument, we are still entitled to claim, as having formerly been all within the temple enclosures.

To reduce the area of the Haram to a square, Mr. Williams ingeniously proposes to treat its *southern* portion as Dr. Ro-

[1] In the statement of these I am preceded by Mr. Williams. "When Pompey," he says, "had been received into the city by the Roman faction, he proceeded to force the temple, which was occupied by the adverse party of Aristobulus. To effect this, he pitched his camp within the city, on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, in which a bank was raised with great labour, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, and on this the engines were placed, and the wall battered, until a breach was effected, through which the temple was taken. Again, when Cestius had set fire to Bezetha, at the beginning of the Jewish war, and had attempted for five days, without success, to effect his entrance into the upper city, he diverted his attack to the temple, and sought to break into it at the northern quarter, the Jews being in possession of Antonia. He was repulsed by the Jews from the cloisters; when the soldiers undermined the wall, and prepared to set fire to the gate of the temple. Further, when Titus had taken the outer wall of the city, the Jews 'divided into several bands, and courageously defended the wall; John and his faction fighting from the tower of Antonia, and *from the northern cloister of the temple*;'" (Josephus, J. W. ji. xix. 5;) "which would have been unnecessary, or rather absurd, if the whole space of Antonia, with its deep fosse, had been interposed between them and the enemy."—Holy City, pp. 327, 328.

binson does its *northern*. The remains of Jewish architecture at the south-east angle of the Haram wall, and along its southern course, he thinks belonged not to the wall of the *temple* enclosure, but to the oldest *city* wall; and the vaults and substructions, and ancient erections in the southern portion of the Haram, he attributes to the Emperor Justinian.

His argument, founded on what he considers to be the course of the city wall, I give in his own words. "Let it be remembered," he says, "that the first or old wall which encompassed Zion was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple, at Ophel, which 'is the remainder of the ridge (on which the temple stood) extending south from Moriah to Siloam, between the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, and the steep but shallower Tyropœon on the west,' 'descending rapidly to the south.'[1] Now 'the south-east corner of the enclosure . . . impends over the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is at this point about 130 feet deep;'[2] and 'which here actually bends south-west around the corner,'[3] so that 'the wall on the south . . . was apparently built, not on the brow of a valley, but on the side of a declivity, which descended steeply for a time, and then ran off in a more gradual slope, forming the ridge of Ophel.'[4] So, then, had it been the *temple*-wall which made its angle here, it is evident that the *first or old wall* must have joined the *south* portico of the temple, not the *east*, as Josephus expressly affirms. The conclusion is unavoidable, that this is an *angle of the first wall*, which, having been joined to the south extremity of the eastern portico of the temple, about 500 feet north of this ancient fragment, has been continued

[1] Bib. Res. i. 394.

[2] Ibid. 420.

[3] "Bib. Res. 429.—This bend of the Kedron had escaped my observation; but I thank Dr. Robinson for the remark. It forces the wall to bend, and proves that it must have been the first wall, and not the temple-wall."

[4] Bib. Res. p. 421.

south to this point,[1] and then 'bent' with the valley towards the west, running 'on the side of the declivity' until 'a more gradual slope' allowed it to descend the 'ridge of Ophel.'"[2]

The course of the ancient city wall here alluded to, I cannot but think Mr. Williams has entirely mistaken. We have seen what Josephus says of this wall.[3] Referring to the original Greek, I do not see any objection which can be urged against its course, as thus given by Dr. Robinson. "From the tower of Hippicus, again, this first or ancient wall on the west ran (southwards) along the western brow of Zion, through a place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes. Both these are now unknown. Thence it turned along on the south over Siloam; and bending round on the east to Solomon's Pool and the place called Ophla, [Ophel,] it joined itself to the eastern portico of the temple. . . . . From Siloam the wall ran to the pool or reservoir of Solomon; and this cannot well have been any other than the Fountain of the Virgin, which is deep and excavated in the rock . . . . The eastern wall then probably ran along the Valley of Jehoshaphat; or else, crossing the point of the narrow ridge N.E. of Siloam, swept down into that valley so as to include the fountain. Then, passing by Ophla, it ascended and terminated at the eastern portico of the temple."[4] Surely when a wall is thus supposed to terminate at a south-east angle, where the eastern and southern porticos must have met, it may be said to terminate at the eastern cloister with as much propriety as at the southern—nay, with more propriety, when its eastern line is that immediately spoken of. Though it may be granted that the works of Justinian lay actually to the south of the

[1] "I think 'the great tower that lieth out,' which was in Ophel, stood at this south-east angle, and that the large stones belonged to it."—See Nehem. iii. 26, 27.

[2] The Holy City, pp. 330, 331.

[3] See above, p. 408.

[4] Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 459, 460.

Haram area, there is nothing in the circumstance to prevent the belief that they were within the space occupied by the temple enclosures; but of this more immediately in another connexion.

I see no method of disposing of Josephus and the Rabbis, in the view of the present enclosure of the Haram, except by supposing that the square of which they speak did not include the porticos of the temple, which I do not think very probable, or by supposing that they have fallen into a gross mistake in their measurements or rather estimates. This is the opinion of Mr. Catherwood.[1]

A little further to the east of the wailing-place, is the SPRING OF AN ANCIENT ARCH, which has come to the notice of Europeans only within these few years. We visited it several times. On one of these occasions we took the son of Rabbi Herschell of London, and one of his Jewish friends, an intelligent gentleman from the West Indies, to examine it. They had often noticed the largeness of the three courses of stones of which it is composed, without observing the curve of which they are the commencement, and the precise object of their superposition. We found Dr. Robinson's measurement of these remains tolerably correct. The arch runs fifty-one feet along the wall. One of the stones is upwards of twenty feet long; and another is twenty-four and a half in length by five in depth. The chord of the arch, as far as it remains, measures twelve feet six inches. Dr. Robinson supposes that the arch could have belonged only to the BRIDGE, which, according to Josephus, led from this part of the temple to the Xystus on Zion, and that it proves incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs. Mr. Williams, on the other hand, thinks that it must have been connected with the VAULTS below the church built by the emperor Justinian, now forming the mosk

[1] Bartlett's Walks, p. 173, et seq.

el-Aksá, and its contiguous hospitals, and the substructions which occupy the south-eastern corner of the enclosure of the Haram. The idea of its possible connexion with the interior vaults had occurred to ourselves at Jerusalem, without any reference, however, to the works of Justinian; but, after turning the matter over in our minds, we were inclined to prefer the theory of Dr. Robinson.

What the state of the argument relative to the arch and the antiquities forming the southern part of the enclosure now is, I may briefly show. The following is the substance of the notice taken of the works of Justinian, on the authority of Procopius, by Mr. Williams:—"'It [the Church of the Virgin] was then,' says the historian of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, 'an incomparable edifice, differing from all other buildings in Jerusalem in this, that whereas they were built on even ground on the crest or on the sloping sides of the hills, this had only one part based upon the solid rock, while the remainder was suspended in the air by means of arched substructions, rising with the rock until they reached the pitch of the hill, where they were joined to the ground of the sacred enclosure, (τῷ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει.) It was a work of immense labour, and the architects having to contend against the natural difficulties of the site, despised the ordinary resources of art, and had recourse to strange and unheard-of expedients. They hewed out immense rocks (πέτρας) from the large quarries in the neighbouring mountains, and having cut them skilfully on the spot, conveyed them to their destination in the following manner. They constructed wagons equal in size to the stones, and placing one stone on each wagon, they yoked to each forty of the imperial bullocks, selected for their strength, and thus dragged the stone on the wain. But the roads to the city being impracticable for such wagons, they levelled the mountains to allow of their access, and thus the church was

built of the dimensions required by the emperor. It was of so great width that timber could not be found suitable for the roof.' . . . Columns were now required answerable to the beauty of the sacred enclosure, and a quarry of marble was most seasonably and unexpectedly discovered. The buildings were thus adorned with colonnades within and without, especially the cloisters which surrounded the building on all but the eastern side. There was, however, a cloister along the fourth side, called Narthix, entered from near the door of the church, adorned with similar columns, forming a wonderful vestibule (αὐλή),[1] the gates of which were so magnificent as to prepare the spectator for the wonders of the interior, the propylaeum being an arch of immense height supported by two columns. Advancing forward by this vestibule, the visitor came to two semicircular buildings facing one another on either side of the church: they were hospitals built by the emperor, one for pilgrims, the other for poor invalids. The historian may well add that these buildings cost a considerable sum. Now when we remember that the Mosk el-Aksa [as admitted by Dr. Robinson] 'is universally regarded by oriental Christians, and also by Frank Catholics, as an ancient Christian Church, once dedicated to the Virgin,' that 'earlier travellers' as well as later 'describe it in the same manner,' and that 'Mr. Bonomi, whose judgment as an artist cannot well be drawn into question, remarks expressly that the structure is similar in appearance to those raised in the early ages of Christianity,'[2] I suppose there can be but one opinion that the Mosk el-Aksa is the church of Justinian; and I apprehend that they who read the above outline of the very minute account left us of that church, will think that it does not deserve to be thrown on one side as 'not very clear,' and

[1] "θύραι μέταυλοι, 'janua a vestibulo ferens in atrium.'—Lexicon."

[2] Bib. Res. 438, 439.

that it no more 'borders on the fabulous,' than the modern descriptions of it, which have been already referred to, to which it answers so exactly, that I am convinced that a comparison of the two descriptions will make the identity so clear, that it will be useless to insist on it. I would merely observe that the present buildings around the mosk are probably remains of the hospitals, modernized and debased, and that the (τέμενος) or sacred precincts, would afford space for the 'many side buildings' which 'very probably' formed the palace of the Frank kings, during their reign in Jerusalem; for I agree with Dr. Robinson in thinking that the buildings were once 'more extensive than the present Mosk el-Aksa;'[1] for who that compares the account of the foundations of the enclosure of Justinian, with the description which has been given of the substructions at the south-east and south of the area of the haram, can suppose that it admits of a question that they are identical? Further, have we any right to presume that these vaults were 'probably only repaired' by that emperor, and are to be referred 'partly to Herod, or, with greater probability, to a still earlier date;'[2] without a hint from this, or any other historian, to imply that any such works existed here before,[3] and with the decided opinion of three intelligent architects, that they are all of the same date?"[4]

So much for the argument from Procopius. If that writer is to be depended upon in this instance, and I see no warrant for making light of his authority, there can be little doubt that Justinian had to do with both great foundations and edifices on the southern side of the Haram, for no site but this, suitable to the descriptions of Procopius, can be

[1] Bib. Res. i. p. 443.

[2] Ibid. i. 451, 452.

[3] Or rather I should say with this historian's plain declaration against it; for it was altogether strange (παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνῶτα). Procopius, de Ædif. Just. Lib. v. c. 6.

[4] Holy City, pp. 333-335.

found at Jerusalem. Whether the vaults were originally made, or repaired and adapted by him, however, is a question which the testimony of Procopius alone does not warrant us satisfactorily to solve. He does not precisely say whether the "arched substructions" were formed by the orders of Justinian, or that advantage was only taken of them, already existing and repaired, for the accommodation of his buildings. If formed either by Adrian or Herod, they would still have their "Roman" architectural character, attributed to them by Mr. Bonomi. Mr. Catherwood, who personally surveyed them during the six weeks that he had the good fortune of daily access to the Haram in 1833, says distinctly, in his interesting statement of his adventurous research, "The whole substruction appears to me to be of *Roman origin*, and in connexion with the Golden Gate; and the one beneath the el-Aksa, together with the ancient bridge, to have formed a *connected plan of foundations and approaches to the great temple of Herod.*"[1] To this opinion of the able architect, who, of all men, has had the best opportunities of examining these remarkable works, great deference must be shown. At the same time, it must be remembered, that none of the substructions within, so far as they have been described by the architects who have been privileged to see them, seem to correspond in magnitude with the spring of the arch; and that Josephus speaks of the bridge between Zion and the city, as existing at the siege of Pompey, *prior to the days of Herod.*[2] Previous to the distinct annunciation of Mr. Catherwood's opinion in the interesting work of Mr. Bartlett, lately published, Dr. Robinson, referring to the spring of the arch, and the foundations of the western wall, contiguous to it, observes that "the magnitude of the stones, and the workmanship, as

[1] Bartlett's Walks about Jerusalem, p. 171.

[2] See above, p. 465.

compared with other remaining monuments of Herod, seem to point to an earlier origin. In the accounts we have of the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans, and its rebuilding by Zerubbabel under Darius, no mention is made of these exterior walls. The former temple was destroyed by fire, which would not affect these foundations; nor is it probable that a feeble colony of returning exiles could have accomplished works like these. There seems, therefore, little room for hesitation in referring them back to the *days of Solomon, or rather of his successors*, who, according to Josephus, built up here immense walls, *immoveable for all time*."[1] This reasoning requires some qualification. Where, connected with the ancient *temple*, it may be asked, are the "other remaining monuments of Herod?" It can easily be admitted that he could deal with that sacred edifice in a style of magnificence far exceeding what we now observe at the tower of Hippicus, of which, it is admitted, he was the founder. The stones which he actually used in the construction of the temple itself, were, according to Josephus, (who is perhaps guilty of exaggeration,) *larger* than any now seen in the walls of the Haram. "Now the temple," says the Jewish historian, "was built of stones white and compact, and the length of each of them was twenty-five cubits, their height eight, and their breadth about twelve."[2] But, as far as the *arch*, as a supposed fragment of a bridge, is concerned, any supposition about the size of the stones of the Herodian architecture, is scarcely admissible on Dr. Robinson's theory, as the bridge, as already mentioned, existed in the days of Pompey. Architects think that though the construction of the arch was perhaps known in the days of Solomon, it was not in use.[3] There is some uncertainty

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 427. Jos. Antiq. xv. 11. 3. Bell. Jud. v. 5, 1.

[2] Antiq. lib. xv. 11. 3. Compare Josephus quoted above, p. 412.

[3] "I do not suppose arches were in

about this matter, even as far as Solomon is concerned; and by his successors the arch may have been used as well as known.[1] The arch is without the original enclosure of the wall, as is evident from the large ancient stones intervening between it and the south-western corner, from which it is thirty-nine feet distant, and extending beyond it on the other side to the north at intervals, even to the Jews' place of wailing. It is entirely detached, in consequence, from the internal series; and we must conclude that it was appropriated to a different use. In Mr. Williams's objection to Dr. Robinson's notion of its being part of the bridge of the Xystus, founded on the fact that the precipitous natural rock of Zion on the opposite side would not be reached by the bridge, supposing it to be extended to it, I do not lay much stress, as the height of the *precipitous* part of the rock of Zion—I write of it from memory—did not appear to me to be much higher than the arch of the bridge would be when complete and covered, while the descent from Zion on its western side, could, if necessary, be somewhat broken by artificial means on its approach to the bridge.[2] I see some difficulty in the case, in the silence of Josephus as to the stupendous nature of the bridge, as noticed by Mr. Williams; but it is not unsurmountable. We might perhaps expect that a bridge about 350 feet in length, and 51 feet in breadth, as this must have been according to the hypothesis, would have called forth the admiration of the historian. But where, if

use in the time of Solomon, however far back the mere invention of the arch may go."—Catherwood in Bartlett, p. 178.

[1] Ezekiel, in his particular vision of the temple, is supposed to have had some reference to the primitive erection of Solomon. In chapter xl., according to the English version, the *arch* is frequently mentioned by him. The meaning of אֻלָם, so translated, however, is doubtful.

[2] Dr. Robinson estimates the rock of Zion at this place at "from twenty to thirty feet in height." Mr. Williams feels confident that it can be little short of eighty feet higher than the spring course of the arch on the east.—Holy City, p. 338. There is surely some error in this estimate.

we are disposed to press this difficulty, it may be asked, was the "bridge of the Xystus," which he actually notices? Let Mr. Williams answer for himself. "In ancient times, there were *four entrances* to the court from this [the west] quarter, 'one leading into the upper city, the valley between being filled up for the passage, two into the suburbs, and one into the other city.'[1] There are *now four gates* on this side the Haram. The southernmost of these is approached by a *causeway* carried across the Tyropæon. And I have no doubt whatever that this same causeway is to be understood in those passages of Josephus where 'the bridge' is mentioned."[2] The remains of this causeway, or mound, Mr. Williams says, exist at the present day; and by it "the aqueduct from the pools of Solomon, after skirting the eastern brow of Zion, crosses the bed of the Tyropæon to the mosk."[3] "The west extremity of the causeway joins the north-east angle of Sion, which is a rock."[4] "The palace of Solomon may have occupied the same site on the north-east angle of Mount Sion, where stood the palace erected by the Asmoneans, and afterwards occupied by Agrippa; and the causeway conducted from this palace to that gate of the temple, known by the name of Shallecheth, the 'gate of the casting up or embankment.'"[5] "In the account of the placing of the porters under the first temple, we read that 'to Shuppim and Hozah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going up;' and again, 'at Parbar westward, four at the causeway, and two at Parbar.' Now, this causeway, without all doubt, could be none other than that mentioned among the great works

[1] Jos. Antiq. xv. 11, 5.

[2] Williams, Holy City, p. 343.

[3] Ibid. p. 276. Mr. Williams adds:—"Deeper still is a large sewer, which traverses the whole of Zion, and discharges itself into an immense chamber beneath the bed of the valley, near the covered arcade which conducts to the baths."—Ibid. p. 276.

[4] Ibid. p. 275.

[5] Ibid. p. 276.

of Solomon, as the 'ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord.'"[1] The notices which Mr. Williams gives, connected with these statements, are certainly worthy of attention. It may be admitted, as far as they are concerned, that in the mound to which Mr. Williams refers, there might, as he hints, be something like a *drawbridge*, which Josephus might denominate the "bridge."

The question of the explanation of the great arch exterior to the Haram, at a place, too, where ancient work manifestly appears, still recurs. It is just as easy to suppose that the valley was filled up for the passage, according to Josephus, by the occurrence of the bridge and its concomitants, as by a mound in which a drawbridge, or something equivalent to it, is supposed to have occurred. The causeway (מְסִלָּה) of Scripture is a name suitable to "any raised way." Solomon's ascent to the house of the Lord was something unusual, even for his time. It was among the wonders which so affected the queen of Sheba, "that there was no more spirit in her."[2]

Mr. Williams will doubtless be inclined to ask, when we identify the "causeway" of Scripture with the course of the bridge, what we are disposed to make of his "mound?" I venture to give a reply. It may have been by this mound, I think, that the first or ancient wall of the city crossed the Tyropœon, and was joined to the temple. "Now that wall," says Josephus, "beginning on the north at the tower of Hippicus, extended (eastward) as far as (or, by, ἐπί) the place called the Xystus, [lying probably a little to the south of its course,[3]] and then joining to the council-house, ended

[1] Williams, Holy City, p. 274. 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, 18.

[2] 2 Chron. ix. 4.

[3] I make this remark on the supposition already expressed, that the causeway of Scripture and the present mound are *not* identical. Mr. Williams, viewing them as identical, carries the wall over the line of the mound.

at the south-west cloister of the temple."[1] A line drawn east from the Hippicus, according to the compass, corresponds with the mound pointed out by Mr. Williams.

We have already noticed the EXTENT of the area of the HARAM. Let us now take a more particular notice of its INTERIOR. The best view of it from without is to be obtained from the roof of the governor's house, to which access is readily granted on a proper application.[2] The only Europeans who have been known to enter it for many years, are Alí Bey, Dr. Richardson, and Messrs. Catherwood, Bonomi, and Arundale. From Mr. Catherwood's most interesting notice of his labours and adventures in the Haram, which, though brief, are by far the most accurate which we have, I take the liberty of gleaning the following particulars:—

"The principal entrance to the area is through the deserted bazar on its west side. . . . In going from the gateway to the mosque, a distance of one hundred and fifty feet, several praying places of the Mahomedans are passed, with one or two elegant fountains, surmounted by beautiful cupolas overshadowed by cypress and plane-trees. The great platform is in general about fifteen or sixteen feet above the area, and is reached by three flights of stairs on the western side, above which are elegant pointed archways, probably of the same age as the mosque; of these are also on the north side two; on the south side two; on the east side one. At various intervals between these are apartments, under and attached to the platform, appropriated to the poorer classes of Mahomedan pilgrims, who are lodged and fed gratuitously from the funds of the mosque. . . . This extensive platform is four hundred and fifty feet from east to west, and five hundred and fifty feet from north to south, paved in part with marble; on it are several small and elegant praying-places . . . and on the south side, attached to the external parapet, is a sumptuous and highly wrought pulpit of the richest materials. On the east side, within a few feet of the mosque, is a building resembling a fountain, composed of columns and arches, with a praying-place, pointing towards Mecca. . . . The great mosque of Omar, which stands on this platform, is octagonal in form, each side measuring sixty-seven feet. The lower division of the wall is composed of various coloured marbles, arranged in elegant and intricate patterns. The remaining portion is pierced with fifty-six pointed windows, filled with the most beautiful stained glass imaginable, perhaps of greater brilliancy than the finest specimens in our own cathedrals. The piers separating the windows are externally decorated with glazed tiles, of bright colours

[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. iv. 2.

[2] In Bartlett's Walks, there is a fine engraving, giving an exact idea of this area and its contents.

and various patterns, which is also the case with the circular wall supporting the dome. The double dome, of peculiarly elegant form, is covered with lead, surmounted by a tall gilt crescent. Four doors give entrance to the mosque, opposite to the cardinal points; of these the southern is the principal, having a porch supported by marble columns. A narrow corridor, about thirteen feet wide, runs round the entire building inside, having eight piers and sixteen marble Corinthian columns, which I suppose to have belonged to some ancient Roman buildings; the second corridor, which also runs round the building, is about thirty feet in breadth, the interior diameter of it is ninety-eight feet; the dome is sixty-six feet in diameter, supported by four massive stone piers and twelve ancient Corinthian marble columns, also supposed to have formed part of either the Jewish or Pagan temple, formerly existing on the site. These are connected by arches from which springs the circular wall supporting the dome; the interior of this wall, and the dome itself, are ornamented in gilt stucco in the Arabesque style, such as prevails in the Alhambra. This dome, which is of very early date, is composed of wood-work; portions of it are elaborately carved, although concealed from sight. Under this dome is a remarkable limestone rock; it occupies, with its irregular form, the greater part of the area beneath, and is surrounded by a gilt iron railing, to keep it from the touch of the numerous pilgrims. It appears to be the natural surface of the rock of Mount Moriah; in a few places there are marks of chiselling. Over this hangs a time-worn crimson silk canopy. At the south-east corner of this rock is an excavated chamber, called by Mahomedans the Noble Cave, to which there is a descent by a flight of stone steps. This chamber is irregular in form, and its superficial area is about six hundred feet, the average height seven feet. . . . In the centre of the rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which being struck returns a hollow sound, clearly showing that there is a well or excavation beneath. This is called by the Mahomedans *Bir Arruah*, (Bîr er-Ruah,) the well of souls—of the wicked we must suppose, this being the entrance to the Mahomedan hell (?) . . . The corridors of the mosque are airy, light, and elegant, and the sun, streaming through the richly stained glass windows, casts a thousand varied dyes upon the highly decorated walls and marble pavement. In striking contrast to this is the sombre and impressive appearance of the dome: the eye in vain strives to pierce its gloom, to unravel its maze of rich Arabesque ornaments, and read its lengthened inscriptions drawn from the Koran. . . . Throughout the mosque are many objects of tradition and reverence. . . . Proceeding southward from the platform of the mosque of Omar, across a paved footway, shaded by venerable cypresses, at the distance of three hundred and fifty feet, we reach the porch of the mosque el-Aksa, which occupies the remaining space of two hundred and eighty feet, extending to the southern wall of the great enclosure. It consists of a nave and six side aisles, of a mixed architecture, the entire breadth being one hundred and eighty feet.[1] The columns and piers are very irregular in size, material, and architectural character; some being evidently Roman, while others are Saracenic. At the southern extremity is a beautiful dome,

[1] Mr. Catherwood adds in a note, "It is supposed to be the church built by Justinian, but if so, it has been greatly altered by the Mahomedans."—This is sufficiently evident from the drawings of 'Alî Bey.

under which stands the gallery for the singers, and an elaborately carved pulpit. Attached to the south-west angle of the building is the mosque of our lord Abu Bekr. This mosque is upwards of two hundred feet in length, and fifty-five feet in breadth. Down the centre is a row of eight piers, from which arches cross to the sides: at right angles with this is the mosque of the Mogrobins, two hundred feet in length, of no particular character. At the opposite end of the edifice, on the edge of the wall, is the small mosque of Omar, eighty-five feet in length. Attached to this mosque is one still smaller, called that of the Forty Prophets. The mass of buildings projecting at the back, beyond the wall of the great enclosure, are merely offices connected with the mosque. The interior of this extensive building [el-Aksá] like the mosque of Omar, abounds in traditionary objects. Its distinguishing peculiarity is a large enclosure for the devotions of Mahomedan women, who are not, on any account, permitted to enter the principal mosque. Like the mosque of Omar, this also has its well. The entrance to the ancient gateway, existing under the mosque, is beneath the archway immediately to the left of the main entrance, by a flight of stone steps. This gateway is apparently of the same age and style as the Golden Gateway; it is two hundred and eighty feet in length, and by means of steps and an inclined plane, the roadway through it ascends from the southern entrance to the level of the area. Beneath the dome at the south-east angle of the temple wall, conspicuous from all points, is a small subterranean mosque or place of prayer, forming the entrance to the extensive vaults, which support the level platform of the mosque above. It may be presumed that the whole of this eastern side of the platform is so supported, but the only part accessible is immediately beneath the south-east angle. Here are fifteen rows of square pillars, from which spring arches supporting the platform. . . . The roots of the olive-trees above have struck through the arches, and in some instances taken root again below. The ground . . . rises rapidly from the south-east towards the north and west, so that the height of the southern arches, is thirty-five feet, while the northern ones are but ten feet high."[1]

But after so long detaining my reader at the temple area, I must ask him again to accompany me WITHOUT THE WALLS OF THE CITY. On this excursion we ascend the MOUNT OF OLIVES, and proceed to BETHANY, and return by the JEWISH TOMBS.

Emerging from the city, as on a former occasion, by the gate of St. Stephen, we go winding down a steep descent to the VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT, or bed of the KIDRON, which we cross, over a plain bridge. This brook was entirely dried up during our visit to Jerusalem. Unless after a very heavy fall of rain, water now is never found flowing in its channel.

[1] Bartlett's Walks, pp. 165-171.

It is exactly in appearance what in India we call a dry *nalá*. To the source of this valley, to the north-west of the city, I afterwards refer.

To the left of the bridge on its eastern side is the reputed "Tomb of the Virgin Mary." It is merely a subterranean church and grotto, to which there is a descent by a long staircase. Within its precincts, Saints Joachim, Anna, and Joseph are also said to be interred. The place for the burial of the Virgin is held by the traditionists to have been pointed out to the apostles by our Lord; and it is a spot which they highly venerate. It is first mentioned by Adamnanus, about the end of the seventh century.[1] It is scarcely necessary to say that there is no historical evidence which can lead us to believe that the Virgin was here interred. It is probable that she died about the year 63, in Western Asia, with the apostle John, to whose care she was intrusted.

A little to the right of the tomb, and a few yards in advance of it, is *El-Jesmáníyah*, or GETHSEMANE, a place the associations of which are of overwhelming interest and solemnity. Yet, when we first saw it, a band of "Christian" women were swinging upon the branches of its venerable Olives! How different were their occupation and emotions there, from those of the Saviour, when under the pressure of the load of the sins of his people, and in the view of his last sufferings on the cross, his "soul was exceeding sorrowful even unto death;"[2] when his cry was addressed to Him who sent him, "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will but thine be done;" when "being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly;" and when "his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground."[3] The more that we saw of the so-called Chris-

[1] For its description and history, see the Elucid. Ter. Sanct. of Quaresmius, tom. ii. lib. iv. Per. vii. cap. i. ii. iii.

[2] Mark xiv. 34.

[3] Luke xxii. 42-44.

tian pilgrimage, as it is at present conducted by the multitude, the more had we occasion to lament over its stupifying and debasing effects. Levity and irreverence seemed its only fruits. It was difficult for us, with what was before us, to look to the hallowed garden without our own souls being agitated by feelings somewhat alien to those which we sought to cherish. Nevertheless, we tried to commune with that Saviour who often resorted hither with his disciples, and whose soul here travailed in the greatness of its strength for our redemption. The wall by which the garden is surrounded is of dry stone, and irregular in its form. The olive trees are certainly very aged. They are surrounded by stones pretty much in the manner of the sacred trees of the Hindús. There are other olive trees in the adjoining plots of ground also apparently very old. If the Gethsemane of the Bible be not here,—and we can see no reason for disturbing the tradition respecting it,—it cannot certainly be far distant, as must be apparent from the incidental notices of the evangelists.[1]

There are four roads or paths which lead up the Mount of Olives from Gethsemane. Three of them go to Bethany. By the northern one, we proceeded to the summit of the Mount, passing to the right various *loca sancta* of the monks,

[1] Dr. Robinson, with his usual care, thus collects the traditionary notices connected with the locality:—"The spot was not improbably fixed upon during the visit of Helena to Jerusalem, A. D. 326, when the places of the crucifixion and resurrection were supposed to be identified. Before that time, no such tradition is alluded to. Eusebius, writing apparently a few years afterwards, says Gethsemane was *at* the Mount of Olives, and was then a place of prayer for the faithful. Sixty years, or more, afterwards, Jerome places it at the foot of the mountain, and says a church had been built over it; which is also mentioned by Theophanes as existing near the end of the seventh century. The garden is likewise spoken of by Antoninus Martyr at the end of the sixth century, by Adamnanus, and by writers of the times of the crusades. There would seem, therefore, little reason to doubt that the present site is the same to which Eusebius alludes."—Biblical Researches, vol. i. pp. 346, 347.

which require no notice. We entered the CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, or rather mosk, crowning the hill. With its appendages, it is a very conspicuous object at a distance; but there is nothing whatever remarkable in its architecture. We paid each a few piastres to the Turks for our admission to the octagonal building in the interior, where we were shown a mark in the rock, said to be the last print of the foot of our Lord on his ascension to heaven. We declined to take impressions of it, though they are in request among the pilgrims. It is surrounded by various little altars, or oratories, belonging to the different sects of oriental Christians, who never imagine that tradition is sadly at fault in fixing on this locality as that from which our Lord ascended to heaven, even though it is expressly said by the Evangelist that he led the disciples out "as far as to Bethany,"[1] —which is about as far distant from this church, in advance to the south-east, as the church is from Jerusalem,—before he lifted up his hands and blessed them. We were somewhat amused, on becoming acquainted at the place, with a Tractarian apology for their error—"The disciples were led out as far as the *parish* of Bethany!" The Jews well knew how to express what is meant by the "coasts" of a district or town, when the proprieties of speech required them to use the term. How this spot should have become sacred in the eyes of the Muhammadans, I do not well see, as they hold that Jesus did not actually die, but ascended to heaven from the cross. The church was probably seized by them for purposes of extortion.

The Mount of Olives, as we have already mentioned, was found by the measurements of Lieut. Symonds, of the Royal Engineers, to be 2397 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.[2] We remained on the summits for a considerable

[1] "Ἕως ἐπὶ Βηθανίαν."—Luke xxiv. 50.

[2] See above, p. 424.

time on the occasion of our different visits, greatly interested in the scene which there presented itself to our view. In the direction of the East we could distinctly observe, for many miles, the course of the valley of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the mountains of Moab lying beyond. The general line of the river was clearly marked by the trees, and bushes, and reeds, growing on its borders, and the greater verdure of its immediate neighbourhood; most of the plain, from the neglect of irrigation by canals, being far more dry and barren in appearance than we had expected to find it. A heavy mist was rising from the Dead Sea, which seemed itself, as it has been happily characterized, not unlike melted lead at the bottom of a caldron. There was no *peculiar* peak of the hills of Moab on which we could fix, as the Pisgah from which the departing Moses surveyed the promised land, the brow of the range having very much an equal altitude; but we were not convinced that there may not be such a peak behind the brow, though not distinguishable on our horizon. There are elevations from which the country in all directions could be advantageously surveyed. Any part of the range, in fact, as it appears from the Mount of Olives, must present an extensive view. To the west, we had the city of Jerusalem before us in all its amplitude; but, as we shall immediately have occasion to notice, it is seen to greater advantage from a lesser altitude on the hill. To the north-east by north, to the right of the hill Scopus, we have in sight the village of ʻAnatah, the Anathoth of Scripture, and to the north-west the Wali or tomb of Nabi Sámwíl, "the prophet Samuel," which has been identified as Mizpeh. The Mount of Offence, which is, in fact, an elevation, on a continuation of the Mount of Olives itself, blocks up the view towards the south.

On the summits of the Mount, where agricultural labours were proceeding,—though the barley crop was considerably

advanced even at the time of our first visit,—we tried our hand for a few minutes at the plough. The Muhammadan whose politeness enabled us to make the experiment, declared that we made a furrow far too deep for the soil, though we appeared merely to be scratching its surface. The instrument in use, which was drawn by bullocks, was a very simple one, made wholly of wood, and having merely a single stilt. It is customary for the ploughman to carry this article on his shoulders to his home in the evening. In the present state of the country, it is more than questionable that he would know where to find it in the morning, were he to leave it in the fields for the night.

In descending to BETHANY,—for it lies in a lower slope or basin of the hill extending to the east,—we could not but remember that we were treading the same path which must have often been followed by our Saviour and his disciples. Bethany is now known by the name of El-Azaríyah, the town of Lazarus. It is at present a dirty Arab village of about thirty small hovels; but its situation is beautiful and peaceful. A considerable number of fruit-trees,—olive, pomegranate, fig, and almond,—adorn its neighbourhood. They occur principally in small patches or topes, and occupy the choicest parts of the hill, which were probably, in the days of old, highly cultivated gardens. An old conspicuous ruin in the village, which it is wonderful has not long ere now been washed away by the winter rains, is pointed out as the house of Mary and Martha. It is probably the remains of some of the ecclesiastical buildings which, we learn, were erected at the place when it became particularly distinguished in the Christian pilgrimage. Contiguous to it, according to the monks, is the abode of Simon the leper. The descent to the reputed Tomb of Lazarus is by twenty-six steps. Some of the villagers are generally ready at its entrance, with their tapers, to conduct the stranger into its interior. When

you emerge from it to revisit the light of day, the whole children of the place are inclined to raise the cry of *Hâji! bakshish*, "Pilgrim, a present!" If it be said, that there is no actual certainty that it is the spot in which the friend whom Jesus loved lay in the cold arms of death, before the potent mandate was given, "Lazarus, come forth,"[1] there is no particular reason, either in its situation or form, for discarding the traditions which associate it with the name which it now bears. Though it might be without the village originally, it would be very natural for the people to build their houses near it, when it was identified as the spot where one of the greatest of our Lord's miracles of mercy and of power was performed. It is likely that it was in a capacious excavated or vaulted tomb like this that Lazarus was deposited; for it is said not merely that he was raised from it, but "came forth bound hand and foot with grave clothes." I do not understand precisely what Dr. Robinson means, when he says, that its "form is not that of the ancient sepulchres;" for whatever may be thought of its present entrance, it is in itself exactly such an excavation, or vault, as of old was wont to be used for the interment of the dead. The first particular mention which we have of a "Tomb of Lazarus" at this place, as noticed by travellers, is in the Jerusalem Itinerary in 333.[2] Eusebius and Jerome speak of it as distinguished by the erection of a church.[3] It is probable that it was never afterwards overlooked.

Jerome speaks of BETHPHAGE as a known "villula in Monte Oliveti;" but its exact site is not now known. Dr. Robinson says, "In coming from Jericho our Lord appears to have

[1] John xi. 43.

[2] Est ibi cripta ubi Lazarus positus fuit, quem Dominus suscitavit.—Wesselling's Vet. Rom. Itin. p. 596.

[3] Jerome's complete notice of Bethany in his Lib. de Lit. et Nom. Loc. Heb. is the following:—Bethania, "villa in secundo ab Ælia milliario in latere Montis Oliveti: ubi Salvator Lazarum suscitavit, cujus et monumentum Ecclesia nunc ibidem extructa demonstrat."—Sub. Beth.

entered it before reaching Bethany; and it probably, therefore, lay near to the latter, a little below it towards the East. Of course, it could not well have been where Abu-Dis now stands; and still less on the spot which the monks assign to it, half-way between Bethany and the summit of the Mount of Olives, where there is nothing to show that a village ever stood."[1] Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne say, "Another prominent object in the scene is the remains of an ancient village on the height nearly south from Bethany, and about half a mile distant; it is called Abu-Dis. May not this be the remains of Bethphage, the village 'over against' the Jericho road, where the disciples obtained the colt and brought it to Jesus? No other trace of Bethphage has ever been found, neither has any traveller found an ancient name for Abu-Dis that has any probability of being the true one. The only objection is, that Abu-Dis is not upon the Jericho road, but half a mile to the south of it. But the words of the Evangelist, rightly understood, do not imply that Bethphage was on the Jericho road, or that Jesus entered the village. Jesus was travelling from Jericho probably by the present highway; 'And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives, he sendeth forth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, Go your way into the village *over against you*.'[2] The simple meaning appears to be, that when they came to the confines of these two villages, lying on the back of the Mount of Olives, (and Bethphage may be named first, because the more conspicuous of the two,) Jesus sent two of the disciples to the village on the opposing height. Had he passed through the village, there would have been no need to send messengers to fetch the colt."[3] This view of the matter is

[1] Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 103.
[2] Mark xi. 1, 2.
[3] Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews, p. 262.

somewhat dubious. In Matthew's Gospel, Christ is apparently represented as coming to Bethphage, and sending, if we mistake not, to *another* village for the colt. "When they drew nigh to Jerusalem, and were come *to Bethphage*, unto the Mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, saying, Go into *the village over against you*."[1]

On our return to Jerusalem, we took, in the first instance, the southern road leading from Bethany to the city. Thence, striking off to the left, we looked into the "Tombs of the Prophets," excavations scarcely worth visiting or describing. We also sought for a cave mentioned in Dr. Robinson's plan, which we at last found. Then, going along the shoulders of the mount, we sat down under a clump of olive trees facing the temple area, and having a very distinct and impressive view of the whole city of Jerusalem,[2] of its walls, mosks, churches, convents, and public and private buildings of all kinds, with their minarets, domes, towers, and level roofs. This, I may say, was the favourite spot of our resort,—for we visited it more than once during our residence in the holy city. The beauty of the situation of the town is seen, from it, to be of a surpassing character. Even in its present widowhood, as observed from this mount, there is something peculiarly imposing and interesting. But we had not so much to do there with the Jerusalem that now is, as with the Jerusalem that was, and may possibly yet be. It was no common destruction of which our Lord spoke, when from these commanding heights he beheld the city, and with melting tenderness wept over its coming woes; and it is no

[1] Chap. xxi. 1.

[2] A striking representation of part of the scene from this spot, is given as a frontispiece to the second volume of this work. It is taken principally from the Daguerreotype of Lerebours of Paris, but improved from various drawings and memoranda which I put into the hands of the engraver. The mosks of 'Omar and el-Aksá, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Armenian convent, are its most conspicuous objects.

common restoration, whatever may be its typical import, that is referred to by the prophet when he says, "They shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of the Lord, to Jerusalem."[1]

From the place to which we now refer, we went to the JEWISH BURYING GROUND, to the situation of which, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, I have already referred. The tombs seem absolutely innumerable. Many of them are covered with hewn slabs of the common stone of the country, containing generally some inscriptive memorial of the names and virtues and persons of the deceased. Some of these monuments, however, are conspicuous objects. Of the group of them most commonly noticed by travellers, I give a sketch from Bernatz, which must save the trouble of a particular description.[2]

The first of them which, beginning with the north, attracts particular attention, is what is commonly called the PILLAR OF ABSALOM. It is opposite a bridge crossing the Kidron. The under part of it consists of a square mass of solid rock, with imperfect Ionic columns and pilasters. Above this there is a cylindrical erection, which again is covered by something like an inverted trumpet. It is called by the Muhammadans the Tantur Faráun, or Horn of Pharaoh. In all the Jewish Itineraries into which I have looked, beginning with that of Benjamin of Tudela of the twelfth century, this monument receives the name of יַד אַבְשָׁלוֹם "the Hand of Absalom."[3] Josephus speaks of the column (στήλη) which Absalom reared for himself as being of marble, and in the king's valley,—by which he probably meant the valley of Jehoshaphat, to which we now refer,—about two furlongs from

[1] Jer. iii. 16, 17.

[2] See woodcut at the end of this Chapter.

[3] This in 2 Sam. xviii. 18, is translated "Absalom's Place."

Jerusalem.[1] The distance of this monument from Jerusalem is considerably less than that now mentioned, but Josephus may have had in his view some particular part of the city from which he made his reckoning. The lower part of the monument, which is of the solid rock, may be, and probably is, of high antiquity. The sculpture, which appears to be that of the later Grecian type, may be more modern than that of the Idumean princes. I scarcely think that the conjecture of Dr. Robinson, that if this and the other adjoining monuments be not the work of these princes, they may, perhaps, be referred to the time of Adrian, is correct;[2] for, this locality being distinctively that set apart for Jewish interment from the earliest times, it is improbable that the grandees of that emperor, who even deprived the city of its own hallowed name, and gave it that of Ælia, would commingle the ashes of their dead with those of the hated Israelitish race.

Adjoining to the "pillar of Absalom," and in the front of the rock behind it, is what is incorrectly called the "Sepulchre of Jehoshaphat;" for that king "was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father."[3] It is an excavation now filled up with rubbish. The façade and entrance to it, judging from the part of the pediment, which is yet visible, seems to have been in rather good taste. Perhaps it forms, with "Absalom's pillar," a part of the same sepulchral and commemorative design. Some months before our visit to Jerusalem, a member of the Catholic Chaldean Church, when exploring its inner chamber, found in it a considerable portion of a MS. of the Hebrew Pentateuch, written on skins which had become separated from one another by the damp, and had much the appearance of leather. It excited great attention in Jerusalem, and found its way into the hands of the Reverendissimo of the Latin convent, who intended to

[1] Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 10, 3.
[2] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 521.
[3] 1 Kings xxii. 50.

transmit it to the Vatican. The monks considered it to be of the highest antiquity; but there was not one found among their number capable of forming an intelligent opinion of this matter. The Jews ascribed to it no great antiquity. The English consul, Mr. Young, came into possession of a part of it, which he did me the favour of presenting to me. I have brought it to this country. The handwriting is that denominated Babelí, or Baghdádí, and appears to be comparatively modern. The Jews told me that it was part of an imperfect or incorrect copy of their law which had been buried, on account of the clerical faults found in it. The Jews, they added, shrink from burning any paper on which the name of God appears.[1]

The "Tomb of St. James" is an excavation with two Doric pillars in the front,[2] and a sepulchral vault, in which it is said that the Apostle James hid himself during the time which intervened between the seizure and resurrection of our Lord.

The "Tomb of Zecharias" is a square monolith of about eighteen feet on each side, with a pyramidal covering. A passage is cut around it. It is about eighteen or twenty-five feet high, exclusive of the pyramid, which may be about twelve feet more, and is supposed to be perfectly solid within. The columns and pilasters by which it is ornamented on the sides, are of the Ionic order. It is associated

[1] Mr. Williams notices this discovery in his Holy City. The manuscript, he says, "was very beautifully written on skins, and reminded me much of the Synagogue Roll, found among the Jews of Cochin, and presented by Dr. Buchanan to the Cambridge University Library. . . . I only saw some damaged portions, which were in every respect similar to the Cochin MS., nor do the skins appear to be at all prepared."—P. 376. The skins seemed to me as if they had been prepared. Mr. Williams mentions that he heard that it is customary among the Jews to bury imperfect copies of the law with the bodies of their rabbis.

[2] Dr. Robinson, who has collected together various notices of these tombs, erroneously says, "that the entrance is by an open portal with *three or four* Doric columns."—Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 518.

with the name of the person mentioned by our Lord who was "slain between the temple and the altar."

In reference to this whole group of tombs and monuments, we observed, in common with many travellers, their resemblance to those of Petra. We did not think, however, that resemblance so striking as some have supposed. With this notice of this burying-ground, let us for the present leave the valley of the Kidron.

After visiting these TOMBS and SEPULCHRES, we devoted a considerable time to rummaging among those which are found to the WEST and SOUTH OF THE CITY. They will fall under our notice in the excursions which we make in these directions.

We leave the city by the Damascus Gate, and proceed to the "tombs of the kings," which we have already noticed.[1]

Tracing the valley of Jehoshaphat as it runs from the west here, we find its bed by no means so deep as to the east of the city. The rock over which it passes is in many places laid bare and worn by the winter currents. Continuing on this course, we come to a road which leads pretty much to the north-west. The Wádí deflects for a little to its source in this direction; and it thus forms the drain of the hill Scopus to the south and west. There are numerous minor sepulchral excavations on both of its sides; and further on are the "tombs of Simeon the Just," and of the "Seventy of the Sanhedrin," which were brought to our notice by the Jews as regular places of pilgrimage among the members of their body.[2]

[1] See above, p. 427, et seq.

[2] They are called by the Jews צְרִיק שִׁמְעוֹן and סַנְהֶדְרִין שִׁבְעִים.—Mr. Ewald gives this notice of these tombs:—"I left this interesting spot [the tombs of the kings] and proceeded further to the right, to view the tomb of Simon the Just. This, also, is excavated in the rock. The exact spot where Simon and his son lie buried is pointed out. Close by the tomb is a cistern filled with water. The pious Jew who visits this spot, so sacred to

From the head of the valley of Jehoshaphat, we cross over to the south, nearly in a straight line to the bed of the valley of Ben Hinnom, by which the side of Jerusalem is partly bounded on the west, and wholly on the south, as by the valley of Jehoshaphat on the north and east.

him, does not fail to purify himself in this water before he enters the tomb. The Jews very frequently come to this spot on Fridays, on the new moons, and in particular, on the thirty-third day after Easter, which is set apart as a feast in honour of this departed Jewish saint. They bring their young boys with them to the spot, where they cut off their hair for the first time, and, according to the weight of it, they vow to give a sum of money to the poor. The scenery around this tomb is delightful, and the situation is, at the same time, retired. From the tomb of Simon the Just, I proceeded further on, to the tombs of the Sanhedrin. These, like the former, are under ground, hewn in the solid rock. The entrance here is still lower, and I was obliged, in some parts, to lay flat down and slide in; but when once inside, I found large vaulted chambers. I counted sixty-three niches where sarcophagi had formerly been placed. In each of these three tombs there were numberless names written on the walls by devout Jews who had visited them."—Journal of Missionary Labour, p. 135. Dr. Robinson, speaking of the Tombs of the Judges, which I presume are identical with those of the Sanhedrin of the Jews, says, "They are situated just on the east of the path; and are entered by a not large portico under a fine pediment, sculptured with flowers and leaves. From the middle of the portico, a door larger than in most sepulchres, leads into an antechamber eighteen or twenty feet square. In the north side of this room are two rows of deep narrow niches, or crypts for dead bodies, one above the other; the crypts running in perpendicular to the wall, and being just large enough to receive a corpse; the side of the room, as Sandys says, being 'cut full of holes, in manner of a dove-house.' On the east and south sides of the antechamber, small doors lead to two other apartments, each about twelve feet square, in both of which three of the sides have similar crypts below, and a larger niche above, as if for a sarcophagus. At the N.E. and S.W. corners of the anteroom, a few steps lead down through the floor to a lower apartment in each corner, of like form and dimensions . . . I have been able to find no notice of these tombs earlier than the time of Cotovicus, A. D. 1598, who gives them no name. Sandys, in A. D. 1611, calls them the 'Sepulchre of the Prophets.' Quaresmius first describes them under the present name; and they have not often been mentioned by later travellers. That writer refers them to the Hebrew judges of the Old Testament. But the name, however it arose, more probably had reference to the judges of the Jewish Sanhedrin, and was applied in consequence of a fancied correspondence between the number of the narrow crypts, and the seventy members who composed that tribunal."—Bib. Res. vol. i. pp. 527, 528. Dr. Robinson seems not to have known that his conjecture may be strengthened by the name which they bear among the Jews.—See Cip. Heb. p. 49.

Crossing the road leading to Joppa, the first objects which attract attention are an ancient Muhammadan cemetery, the Birket el-Mamillá, a tank, which is dry in summer. From this reservoir, water is conducted in the rainy season to the "pool of Hezekiah" within the city.[1] I see no substantial objection to the opinion of Dr. Robinson and others, that it was this pool, or some other pool in its neighbourhood, which was the fountain of Gihon,[2] which was stopped or covered over by Hezekiah, and the waters of which were brought by subterranean channels into the city. Mr. Williams says, that he is "not aware that there is any authority from ancient writers for calling the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom by the name of Gihon, which is identified by Jewish and early Christian writers as Siloam."[3] That Siloam and Gihon were not identical is evident, I think, from the language of Scripture:—"This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it *straight down to the west side of the city of David.*"[4] The waters of Siloam would require to have been brought *up* to run in this direction.

From the Birket el-Mamillá, till we come nearly opposite the Bethlehem Gate, the valley of Ben Hinnom runs in the direction of south-east. At this place it widens and deepens considerably, and runs straight to the south, forming the boundary of Mount Zion to the extremity of the Birket es-Sultán, where it takes a circle to the east.

Following the Bethlehem road, we entered the tombs in the face of the rock of the valley, close upon the tank now mentioned. They much resemble some of the excavated sepulchres at Petra; but they are entirely without architectural ornament.

[1] See above, p. 437.

[2] Compare 1 Kings i. 33, and 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; and xxxiii. 14.

[3] Holy City, p. 406.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 30.

We were here close upon the Birket es-Sulṭán, to which we have already alluded, on our first entrance into the city.[1] It is the largest reservoir for water in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, and is formed by two strong dams built across the ravine, and the scooping away of the rock and soil on its sides, which have been partly built. It is of large dimensions.[2] It is now quite dry, and deepest in the middle, and appears to be very ancient. Few will doubt that it is of Jewish workmanship. I am disposed—viewing the situation of this pool with reference to the one just noticed—to concur with those who think that it is that alluded to by the name of the "Lower Pool," by the Prophet Isaiah.[3] Being contiguous to the "Sepulchre of David," it is probably the "pool that was made," or repaired, by Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk.[4] The aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon passes along its western side, and crosses the glen at its northern end over a bridge, constructed for the purpose, with nine small arches. A branch of the aqueduct, communicating with a cistern, crosses the dam or bridge at its southern end, and again joins the other line as it winds round Mount Zion. There is an Arabic inscription on this bridge, bearing the name of the Egyptian Sulṭán, el-Melik en Náṣr Muḥammad, son of the Sulṭán el-Melik el-Manṣur Keláwún, who commenced his reign, A.H. 693.[5] By this personage the aqueduct was probably merely repaired, and that, judg-

[1] See above, p. 404.

[2] These, according to Dr. Robinson's measurement, are the following :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Length along the middle, | 592 | Eng. ft. |
| Breadth at the N. end, | 245 | „ |
| „ „ S. end, | 275 | „ |
| Depth at N. end, including about 9 feet of rubbish, | 35 | „ |
| Depth at S. end, including about 3 feet of rubbish, | 42 | „ |

Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 486.

[3] Chap. xxii. 9. Compare with allusion to the Upper Pool in chap. vii. 3.

[4] Neh. iii. 16.

By some writers it is called the "Pool of Bathsheba;" but this name is now generally given to a pool within the Yáfá gate, and near the citadel of David.

[5] A.D. 1293. Vid. Annal. Maured. Allatafet Jemalledíní, p. 47, etc.

ing from appearances, in a style very inferior to that of the original workmanship, part of which,—consisting of immense square stones with channels cut through them, and firmly fitted together,—we observed on the flank of Mount Zion. This great work of the aqueduct, which we have already mentioned, I shall have another opportunity of noticing.

The valley of Ben Hinnom, running south-east and east of the Pool of the Sultán, is both steep and rugged, particularly as it passes between Mount Zion on its north, and the "Hill of Evil Counsel" on its south. The summit of the latter eminence is crowned by the ruins of a village and convent, which are most easily reached by a digression from the Bethlehem road. According to the traditions of the monks, the "country-house" of Caiaphas was here situated.[1] From this eminence the best view of Mount Zion, laid out in fenceless fields, with a stunted olive here and there visible, is obtained, and on this account it deserves to be ascended.

In the face of the abrupt rock forming the rise of this hill from the valley of Ben Hinnom, numerous tombs have been excavated. They extend along the whole course of the valley, from west to east, till its junction with the Kidron. We spent several hours in exploring them; but we were but little rewarded for our trouble. The admirers of Dr. Clarke's Travels must be sadly disappointed with them; for they are certainly not worthy of the romance which he associates with them. Most of them are simple unornamented chambers for the dead, hewn from the rock, and to which the entrance is commonly by a low door. Many of them have more than one apartment, with niches and grooves for the

[1] "It is a very singular fact that Josephus (J. W. v. xii.) in his account of the wall of circumvallation, does notice the monument of *Ananus the High Priest*, in this neighbourhood, which Ananus is none other than the father-in-law of Caiaphas." — Holy City, p. 410. But this scarcely connects the hill with the country residence of Caiaphas himself.

accommodation of the bodies which might be deposited in them. We observed several traces of Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, and some obscure remains of fresco paintings, such as are seen in the Egyptian tombs and in the cave-temples of India. Among the inscriptions we saw none which have not been already noticed by travellers.[1] Many of the tombs, we could not doubt are Jewish; but many of them, too, may have been in use in the times of Christianity. Dr. Clarke wildly conjectures that a particular one of them may have been that in which our Saviour was buried.[2]

On the face of the hill, among these tombs, a place is pointed out as the Aceldama or Field of Blood.[3] It is marked

[1] Among the Greek inscriptions that of

THCAΓIAC
CIѠN,

as mentioned by Dr. Clarke, (Travels, vol. ii. p. 555,) more than once occurs, and can distinctly be made out. Besides the inscriptions in Hebrew cut in the rock, which, as far as we observed them, are all very imperfect, several modern scribblings in that language are discernible. Dr. Clarke speaks of the Caraite Jews interring their dead within or near some of these tombs.

[2] "One particularly attracted our notice," he says, "from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb. The large stone that once closed its mouth, had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. Stooping down to look into it, we observed within a fair sepulchre, containing a repository, upon one side only, for a single body; whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two. It is placed exactly opposite to that which is now called Mount Sior. As we viewed this sepulchre, and read upon the spot the description given of Mary Magdalene, and the disciples coming in the morning, it was impossible to divest our minds of the probability, that here might have been the identical tomb of Jesus Christ; and that up the steep which led to it, after descending from the gate of the city, the disciples strove together, when 'John did outrun Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre.' They are individually described as *stooping* down to look into it; they express their doubts as to the possibility of removing so huge a stone, that when once fixed and sealed, it might have baffled every human effort. But upon this, as upon the others already mentioned, instead of a Hebrew or a Phœnician inscription, there were the same Greek characters, destitute only of the Greek cross prefixed in the former instances."—Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 554.

[3] The tradition which fixes it on this spot, reaches back to the age of Jerome; and it is mentioned by almost every visitor of the Holy City

by an old charnel-house, or covered pit, in the bottom of which we observed a considerable quantity of skulls and bones. The soil of this place, it was long alleged, was a literal sarcophagus, or consumer of flesh, reducing the dust to dust in the space of twenty-four hours. It was customary to throw into it the bodies of the different pilgrims who died at Jerusalem.

From Aceldama we proceeded to the well now known as that of "Job" or "Nehemiah," but probably identified as EN-ROGEL, at the junction of the valleys of Ben Hinnom and Jehoshaphat. It is 125 feet deep, and not circular, but imperfectly square. The water by which it is fed is probably that of the subterraneous oozing, or current, of the Kidron, for it differs in quality from that of the Pool Siloam lying farther to the north, and which is supposed to communicate with the temple area. The quantity of water which it contains, varies according to the time of the year. We did not measure its depth; but when Dr. Robinson visited it, it contained about fifty feet of water. It is said to overflow in the rainy season. Quaresmius, with his usual prolixity, discusses the question of its association with the name Nehemiah, founding his observations on a passage in the second book of Maccabees,[1] in which it is said that the sacred fire of the temple was concealed in a hollow pit by the priests during

from that time to the present day. The field or plat is not now marked by any boundary to distinguish it from the rest of the hill-side; and the former charnel-house, now a ruin, is all that remains to point out the site. . . . This plat of ground, originally bought 'to bury strangers in,' seems to have been early set apart by the Latins, and even by the Crusaders themselves, as a place for the burial of pilgrims. Sir J. Maundeville, in the fourteenth century, says, that 'in that Feld ben manye Tombes of Cristene Men: for there ben manye Pilgrymes graven.' He is also the first to mention the charnel-house, which then belonged to the Hospital of St. John. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Quaresmius describes it as belonging to the Armenians, who sold the right of interment here at a high price. In Maundrell's day, dead bodies were still deposited in it; and Korte relates, that in his time it was the usual burial-place of pilgrims."—Bib. Res. vol. i. pp. 524, 525.

[1] Chap. i. 19.

the Babylonish captivity.[1] It is difficult to account for the name of Bir Eyúb, the well of Job, which it receives from the natives, and which occurs in the Muhammadan histories of Jerusalem. In the Jewish Itinerary of the Cippi Hebraici it is called the well of Joab.[2] It is certainly in this place that we are to look for En-Rogel, which is one of the notable marks on the line forming the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, extending from the Dead Sea to the valley of Rephaim.[3] The occurrence of a well at this spot, where, owing to the confluence of the two valleys of Ben Hinnom and Kidron, directions were needed to ascertain the boundary line, is very striking.

North of En-Rogel, and formed by the meeting of the valleys of Ben Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, are the best cultivated gardens near Jerusalem, and undoubtedly those mentioned in Scripture by the name of the גַּן הַמֶּלֶךְ, or "KING'S GARDEN." This locality is thus alluded to by Nehemiah:—"But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallom the son of Col-hozeh, the ruler of part of Mizpah; he built it and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the walls of the *pool of Siloah by the king's garden*, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David."[4] The present gardens are watered by channels and

[1] Eluc. Ter. Sanct. tom. ii. p. 270, et seq. The pit mentioned in Maccabees seems to have been dry.

[2] ולמטה יש באר גדול מיוחס ליואב וקורין לו הגוים איוב Hott. Cip. Heb. p. 49.

Mr. Williams (Holy City, p. 407) observes, that in the Greek Pilgrim's Manual (προσκυνητάριον) it is also called πηγάδιον τοῦ Ἰωάβ. His conjecture respecting the origin of the name is worthy of notice. En-Rogel was the scene of Adonijah's attempt on the kingdom, . . and Joab was the most noted of his partizans.

[3] Josh. xv. 7, 8; xviii. 16, 17.—Dr. Robinson thinks that En-Shemesh, another fountain mentioned on this line, "may have either been the present fountain of the apostles below Bethany, on the way to Jericho, or the fountain near St. Saba."—Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 493. The latter only seems to fall in the border line, which is clearly the continuation of the Kidron.

[4] Neh. iii. 15.—Compare this passage with 2 Kings xxv. 4, which evidently refers to the same locality.

streamlets from the pool of Siloam, the flowery brooks so beautifully alluded to by Milton.[1] They are remarkably fertile, the soil from its position in the valley being alluvial, intermixed with a good deal of vegetable mould. They nourish considerable quantities of pot vegetables, and the common fruit and flowering trees of the country.

Close upon the gardens, as we approach the termination of the valley of the Tyropæon, which runs down here from the western side of Ophel, forming the boundary between Mount Zion and Ophel, which is merely a continuation of Mount Moriah, there is an aged sycamore tree surrounded by a stone terrace, which, it is said, marks the spot where the prophet Isaiah was sawn asunder. In this neighbourhood was the TOPHET of the Jews.[2]

From this place we went to the POOL OF SILOAM, which we viewed with great interest. It is a small oblong reservoir, fifty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nineteen feet deep, according to Dr. Robinson's measurements.[3] It is still in a state of considerable repair, though bushes are here and there growing out of its walls. There are traces of pillars in its sides, which give the idea that at one time it may have been surmounted by some covering or erection. At the upper part of its extremity, near the hill, an arched entrance is visible, to which there is a passage along the brink to the right hand. Entering by this arch, and descending by a flight of steps through an archway to the depth of the pool without, we come to an outer basin, some six feet in breadth, out of which the water flows by a small groove to the pool in

[1] "Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath
That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I visit."

[2] Tophet, says Jerome, (Comment. Isaiah vii. 31,) signifies the place that is watered by the streams of Siloam. It is pleasant and wooded, affording horticultural pleasures. Eusebius under Taphet, says, (Lib. de Sit.) that "the place so called is to the present time in the suburbs of Elia, near the pool of the Fuller, and the field Acheldamach."

[3] Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 497.

front, hewn out of the rock, from which, at present, it again flows in its progress to water the gardens now mentioned. The upper pool, or "fount" as it is sometimes called, forms the entrance to a circuitous subterranean conduit, thoroughly explored by Dr. Robinson and his companion, and extending to what is called the Fountain of the Virgin, 1100 feet externally distant from it on the lower flank of Ophel bounding the valley of Jehoshaphat.[1] The village SILOAM, or Silwán in Arabic, lies on the eastern side of the valley of Jehoshaphat directly opposite.

We have just quoted a passage in which the Hebrew שִׁלֹחַ occurs,[2] שִׁלֹחַ, a word of the same meaning, is met with in Isaiah viii. 6-8:—"Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son; now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks." It is probable that in this passage the gently flowing waters of Siloam, which are contrasted with the mighty and overwhelming floods of the Euphrates, are, in the prophet's mind, associated with the mount of the temple of the Lord, the hill from which the strength of Israel ought to be viewed as coming, from which it is almost certain they actually flow, —an idea which was probably before the mind of our great poet, when, invoking the heavenly muse, he says—

> "Or, if Sion hill
> Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God."

It is the scene of one of our Lord's miracles. "He anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him,

[1] The length of the conduit below, owing to its windings and turnings, is 1750 feet.—Rob. Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 503.

[2] Neh. iii. 15. See above, p. 499.

Go, wash in the pool of Siloam, (which is by interpretation, Sent.) He went his way, therefore, and washed, and came seeing."[1] Mr. Williams, when speaking of the south-eastern corner of the wall of the area of the Haram, which, as we have seen, he thinks belonged to the city wall, and not to that of the temple, says, "I think that 'the great tower that lieth out,' which was in Ophel, stood at the south-east angle, and that the large stones belonged to it."[2] The reference is to Nehemiah iii. 26, 27,—"Moreover, the Nethinims dwelt in Ophel unto the place over against (or, according to the margin, which dwelt in Ophel repaired unto the place over against) the water gate toward the east, and the *tower that lieth out*. After them the Tekoites repaired another piece, over against the *great tower that lieth out*, over unto the wall of Ophel." It strikes me that the tower here referred to was *not* in the position mentioned by Mr. Williams, but was none other than the "*tower of Siloam*," which is noticed as falling by our Lord, and of which, independently of the passages now mentioned, with which I do not remember seeing it before connected, there is no mention in the Old Testament. The first wall of the city, it must be remembered, undoubtedly had its turning near to Siloam. "From the gate of the Essenes, it went along the south, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again along the east at Solomon's pool, [probably the fountain of the Virgin,] and reaches as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas, (Ophel,) where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple."[3] That there is now no mistake in the identification of Siloam is evident from the following incidental notice of the Jewish historian:—"Now the valley of the Cheesemongers, (Tyropæon,) . . . . extended as far as Siloam; a fountain so

[1] John ix. 6, 7.

[2] Holy City, p. 331. See above, p. 467.

[3] See above, p. 408.

called which is sweet and copious."[1] The present pool, with the character here mentioned, is at the *termination of this valley.*

From the pool of Siloam, we went to the "Fountain of the Virgin," the position of which has been already mentioned. It derives its name from the monkish belief that the Virgin Mary here washed the clothes of our Saviour. Its native name is Ain Umm ed-Deráj, the Fount of the Mother of the Heights or Steps. It is undoubtedly a work of the highest antiquity. The descent to it is first by a flight of sixteen steps to a small platform, and then by another of ten steps to the water. Dr. Robinson thus estimates its dimensions, with which, after his minute measurements, we did not much trouble ourselves:—"The basin itself is perhaps fifteen feet long by five or six feet wide; the height is not more than six or eight feet."[2] The water flows off at the extremity, through the subterranean passage to Siloam.[3] It is supposed to enter this well from the well under the Ṣakhrah, or sacred rock below the mosk of 'Omar. With the same well of the Ḥaram, another well, noticed by Dr. Robinson, belonging to a bath lying to the west of the Ḥaram, is also supposed to communicate.[3] Whether it is a well with an original spring, or whether it is fed by some conduit from the upper part of the city which is now concealed, (which is most probable,) is not now certainly known. Jerome notices a periodical flow of the waters of Siloam, which has given rise to various Jewish and Muhammadan legends. A rise in the waters of the Fountain of the Virgin, corresponding with this, was observed by Dr. Robinson.[4]

[1] See above, p. 408.

[2] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 500.

[3] This well has been explored by the enterprising Mr. Woolcott. See Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 24.

[4] "As we were preparing to measure the basin of the upper fountain, (in the afternoon of April 30,) . . . my companion was standing on the lower step near the water, with one foot on the step and the other on a loose stone lying in the basin. All

At this well, when we first visited it, some Turkish soldiers were engaged in washing their clothes. They were not very kind in their treatment of the women of the village of Siloam, who were resorting to fill their pitchers and skins.

From these interesting fountains, which have attracted the attention of travellers in all ages, and which are certainly to be reckoned among the most interesting Jewish antiquities of the Holy City, we scaled the slopes of the valley of Jehoshaphat, to the wall surrounding the temple

at once he perceived the water coming into his shoe; and supposing the stone had rolled, he withdrew his foot to the step; which, however, was also now covered with water. . . . In less than five minutes it had risen in the basin nearly or quite a foot; and we could hear it gurgling off through the interior passage. In ten minutes more it had ceased to flow; and the water in the basin was again reduced to its former level. . . . Meanwhile, a woman of Kefr Selwân came to wash at the fountain. She was accustomed to frequent the place every day; and from her we learned that the flowing of the water occurs at irregular intervals; sometimes two or three times a-day, and sometimes in summer once in two or three days. . . . In order to account for this irregularity, the common people say that a great dragon lies within the fountain; when he is awake, he stops the water; when he sleeps, it flows. An Arab who was there, whom we had seen at the bath in the city, said that the water comes down from the fountain beneath the great mosk. . . But how or why? Was there perhaps originally a small o falling fountain here, to which afterwards other waters were conducted from the temple? Some supposition of this kind seems necessary, in order to account for the large excavation in this place. . . In the account of the Pool of Bethesda, situated near the Sheep [Gate,] we are told that 'an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water;' and then whosoever first stepped in was made whole. There seems to have been here no special medicinal virtue in the water itself; but only he who *first* stepped in after the troubling was healed. Does not this troubling of the water look like the irregular flow of the fountain just described? And as the Sheep-Gate seems to have been situated not far from the temple, and the wall of the ancient city probably ran along this valley; may not that gate have been somewhere in this part, and this Fountain of the Virgin have been Bethesda? the same with the 'King's Pool' of Nehemiah and the 'Solomon's Pool' of Josephus? I suggest these questions as perhaps worthy of consideration, without having myself any definite conviction either way on the subject."—Bib. Res. vol. i. pp. 506-508. The question, "Does not this troubling of the water look like the irregular flow of the fountain just described," seems to me to "look like" rationalism. Connected with what is here said of the Pool of Bethesda, see above, p. 415.

area. We re-entered the town by the gate of St. Stephen, not a little fatigued by the exertion which we had been obliged to make in our excursion, but deeply affected by the few, but unequivocal, remains of the former greatness and prosperity of Jerusalem which we had been permitted to notice.

"Where now the pomp, which kings with envy viewed?
Where now thy might, which all those kings subdu'd?
No martial myriads muster in thy gate;
No suppliant nations in thy temple wait;
No prophet bards, thy glittering courts among,
Wake the full lyre, and swell the tide of song:
But lawless Force, and meagre Want is there,
And the quick-darting eye of restless Fear.
While cold Oblivion 'mid thy ruins laid,
Folds his dank wing beneath the ivy shade."—Heber.

Group of Tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH: T. CONSTABLE, PRINTER TO HER MAJESTY.

00088166

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 09 March, 2016